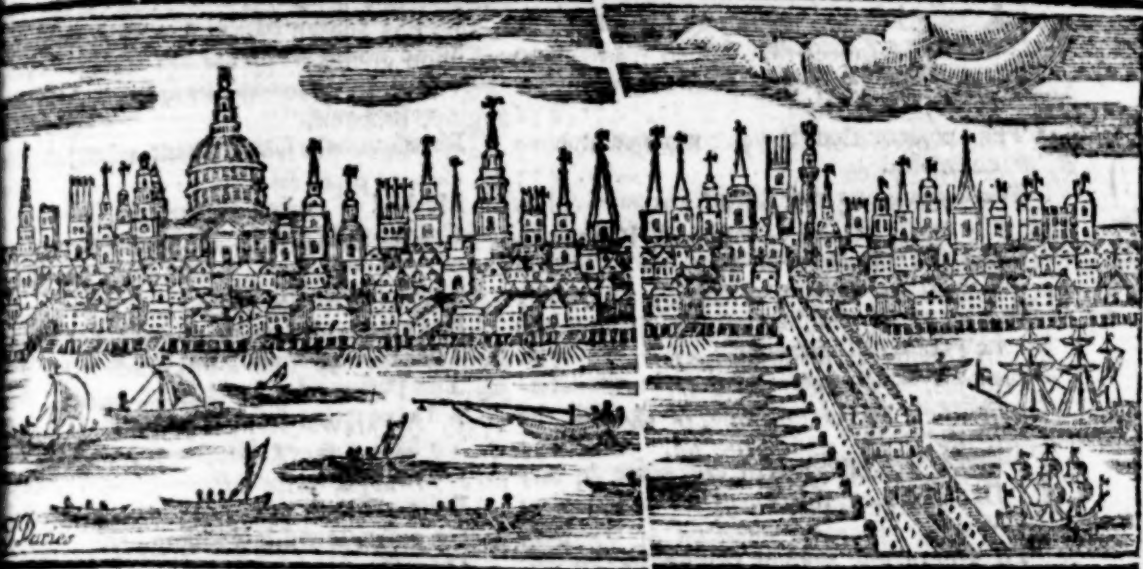


The LONDON MAGAZINE:



For SEPTEMBER, 1746.

To be Continued. (Price Six-Pence each Month.)

Containing, (*Greater Variety, and more in Quantity, than any Monthly Book of the same Price.*)

- I. The JOURNAL of a Learned and Political CLUB, &c. continued: Containing the SPEECHES of the Gentlemen who assum'd the Characters of Sir J—n P—ps, and H—y P—lb—m, Esq; in the DEBATE on the Motion for paying the Noblemens new-raisd Regiments.
- II. The Descent, Family and Character of the late Earl of Kilmarnock, and the late Lord Balmerino; with some farther Particulars of their Behaviour at their Execution, and the Disputes the two Accounts of it have occasion'd.
- III. Justice and Mercy to Rebels consider'd.
- IV. Case of George Earl of Cromartie.
- V. Behaviour of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Earl of Strafford, on the Scaffold.
- VI. Oppressions and Extortions of Gealers.
- VII. Abstract of the Secret History of Mr. Murray.
- VIII. Some Thoughts on the Rebellion.
- IX. Address from New England, and from the County of Devon.
- X. List of Prisoners taken in Italy, from the Army of the three Crowns.
- XI. Mr. Addison's Description of Genoa.
- XII. Description of Namar, Huy and Dinant.
- XIII. Method of curing Distemper'd Cows.
- XIV. Gascon Officer's Letter to the French King, with an English Translation.
- XV. Of Revelutions in Government.
- XVI. Some Thoughts on our American Plantations.
- XVII. Rebels tried at Carlisle.
- XVIII. POETRY. On Liberty; the *Je ne scai quoi*, a Song; the Power of Bacchus; a Dehortation from Drinking; to Miss P—y M—n, on seeing her knotting; on a covetous Clergyman; on *Delia*; an Invitation to *Venus*; Epigrams, &c. &c. &c.
- XIX. The MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER: Scotch Rebels arraign'd; Sessions at the Old Baily; Skinner executed for Murder, and some Account of him; Advices from Scotland; Colonel Durand tried and acquitted; Election of Lord Mayor, &c. &c.
- XX. Promotions; Marriages and Births; Deaths; Bankrupts.
- XXI. Monthly Bill of Mortality.
- XXII. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Surrender and Capitulation of Genoa.
- XXIII. A Table of Contents.

To which is added, A CATALOGUE of BOOKS and PAMPHLETS, with their Prices.

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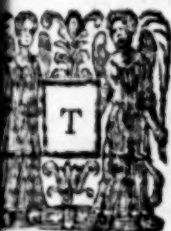


T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1746.

See farther MEMOIRS of the late
Earl of KILMARNOCK and Lord
BALMERINO, who were executed on
Tower-Hill, Aug. 18. (See p. 408, 409.)



THE Boyds (the Family
Name of the Earls of
Kilmarnock) were fa-
mous in Scotland for
several Centuries, ha-
ving borne almost every
great Office in that
Kingdom; so that they

and distinguished in the *Scottish* History as
valiant Commanders and able Statesmen.
It is a Lowland Name, and therefore not
unlike the Name of a Clan (Vassalage ha-
ving been long since abolished in that Part
of the Country) and the Title of Earl
of Kilmarnock is taken from a Royal Bo-
rough of that Name, in the Shire of Cun-
ningham. The first of the Family who had
this Title was *William* Lord Boyd, Great
Grandfather of the late unhappy Earl. He
was created Earl of Kilmarnock by King
Charles II. being a Man of Wit and Learn-
ing, and making a great Figure in that
King's Court. He was succeeded by his
eldest Son *William*, and he by his Son
William, the Father of our unfortunate
Earl. This Earl of Kilmarnock, Father of
the last Earl, was, from Principle, a ze-
alous Whig, and in the Rebellion in 1715,
by his own personal Interest, raised 200
Men in the Town of Kilmarnock and its
Neighbourhood, for the Service of King
George I. It was on this Occasion, that the
late Earl, then Lord Boyd, first bore Arms,
but 11 Years old, and shew'd such
Valour in the Service as gave the Earl his
rather great Satisfaction; who dying two

September, 1746

Years after, was succeeded by this his Son
William, as Earl of Kilmarnock, then but
about 13 Years of Age.

He was educated in the University of
Glasgow, where he acquir'd some Share of
Learning, but soon shew'd himself more in-
clined to Pleasure than Study; however he
had considerable natural Abilities, and soon
pass'd in the World for a young Nobleman
of good Sense and quick Parts. He often
resided in *London* for several Months, and
the Company he kept was such as plainly
shew'd his Attachment to the present Go-
vernment, from whom also he had a Pen-
sion. For when he came to his Estate he
found it greatly incumbered, and his own
profuse Way of Life tended more and more
to impair it. He at length made his Ad-
dresses to the Lady *Anne Levingston*, Daugh-
ter of *James* Earl of *Linlithgow* and *Callan-
dar*, who being taken with his agreeable
Person and genteel Address, married him
without her Mother's Consent. It does not
appear, that he entertain'd any Thoughts
of deserting his Loyalty or joining the Re-
bels, till after the Battle of *Preston-Pans*.
Then the Narrowness of his Fortune, and
his expensive Way of Life, join'd with the
Success of the Rebels, which was greatly
magnified, and the Instigation of their
Friends, who beset him on all Sides, in-
duc'd him to take that fatal Step, in order
to better his Fortune, for which he de-
servedly lost his Head on the Scaffold, tho',
to his Honour, with all the rational Marks
of a sincere Penitence for that rash Action,
as well as for all the Follies and Irregulari-
ties of his Life. He was taken at the Battle
of *Culloden*, or rather surrender'd, when he
found he could not escape. He was much
caress'd by the young Pretender, declar'd

of his Privy Council, made Colonel of his Guards, and promoted to the Degree of a General; so that, it seems, he enter'd deep into the Rebellion, tho' contrary to his Conscience and inward Principle, and in Violation of his Oath solemnly and often repeated; as he declared with Grief and Remorse to Mr. Foster, when he attended him in the Tower. This unfortunate Earl left 3 Sons: Lord Boyd, the eldest, has a Commission in his Majesty's Forces, and behav'd himself gallantly under the Duke in the Battle of Culloden, tho' he knew his Father was Commander of a Troop in the Rebel Army they were going to engage. Another Son was with the Earl his Father in the Rebellion, but escap'd after the Battle of Culloden; and the third has a Commission in the Navy, and is now in Commodore Barney's Fleet.

Arthur Lord Balmerino, who was executed with the Earl of Kilmarnock, was descended of a younger Branch of the noble Family of Elphinston, of which many for several Ages were Men of Eminence in Scotland. John, the third Lord Elphinston, by his Interest at Court, in the Beginning of the Reign of K. James I. got his second Son James created a Baron, by the Title of Lord Balmerino; his eldest Son succeeding him in the Title of Elphinston. This first Lord Balmerino, who was made Secretary of State, and President of the Court of Session in Scotland, was tried for High Treason at St. Andrews in 1609, for that he, being a profess'd Protestant, having often press'd K. James to write a Letter of Compliment to the Pope, and his Majesty refusing it, Balmerino wrote a Letter, and thrusting it among several Dispatches, which he brought the King to sign just as he was going a hunting, his Majesty in a Hurry sign'd that Letter, which was sent away, and afterwards mention'd by Cardinal Belcarmino to the King's Disadvantage. However, tho' he was found Guilty, after having been detain'd in Prison for some Time, the King pardon'd him, and restor'd his Blood and Estate. His Son, and afterwards his Grandson, succeeded to the Title, which last was succeeded by his Son John, the fourth Lord Balmerino, who, in the Reign of Queen Anne, was made General of the Mint, and Sheriff of the County of Edinburgh; and in 1713, was elected one of the 16 Peers for Scotland in the Parliament of Great Britain. This Lord was succeeded by James, his younger Son by his first Wife, who having been bred to the Law, made a considerable Figure at the Bar, and afterwards on the Bench, in Scotland. He

died in 1744, and leaving no Issue, was succeeded by his Brother Arthur, the late unhappy Lord Balmerino, Son of John, the fourth Lord, by his second Wife, Daughter of Arthur Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

This Lord had but a small Estate, but was Ground Landlord and Lord of the Manor of Coleon, a long Street in the Suburbs of Edinburgh, leading to Leith, and had also some other small Matters in the Shire of Fife. He was unhappily educated in the Principles in which he died, and had always distinguish'd himself by his Zeal for them. He had led a military Life, which gave him high Notions of Honour: As for Books, he was but little acquainted with them; and tho' he was quick in Repartee, yet he never affected to reason. In the Rebellion in 1715, he had a Captain's Commission in the King's Army, under the Command of the Duke of Argyle; and told his Grace, who suspected his Loyalty, that whilst he had the Honour to bear King George's Commission, he would act with Fidelity: But when the Pretender landed in Scotland, he sent his Commission to the Duke, saying, he had given his Honour to serve the Pretender as soon as he arriv'd. His Principles, however absurd and inconsistent, thus leading him to espouse the Pretender's Party, and his Circumstances at the Time of the last Rebellion being very much perplexed, 'tis no Wonder that he readily enter'd into it; and that he persisted in his mistaken Notions to the last. He commanded the second Troop of the young Pretender's Body Guard, which was call'd Elphinston's Troop of Horse. He was taken by the Grants, who, to the Number of 600, came to join the Duke of Cumberland, after the Battle of Culloden, and delivered up to his Royal Highness on April 21. (See p. 253.) Among other Stories told of him, whilst he was in the Tower, 'tis said, his Lady, whom he us'd to call his Peggy, came to London soon after him, and frequently attended him in the Tower, having Lodgings in East-Smithfield: That she was at Dinner with him, when he was informed that the Warrant was come down for his Execution the next Monday; which greatly surprized her: But he desir'd her not to be concern'd at it; if the King had given me M^{rs} Cecy, said he, I should have been glad of it; but since 'tis otherwise, I am very easy; for 'tis what I expected, and therefore am not surpriz'd at it. His Lady was still very melancholy, and rose from Table; at which he started from his Chair, and said, Pray, my Lady, sit down, for it shall not spoil my Dinner. Upon which she sat down again, but was so disturb'd that she could eat nothing.

* McDonald, lately executed, said, L. Balmerino came over with the young Pretender into Scotland.

This we have given, in our last, a succinct and clear Account of the Behaviour and Execution of these two Lords, yet we shall here add a few Particulars.

Mr. Foster, who attended the Earl of Kilmarnock in the Tower, has published an Account of his Behaviour after his Sentence, and on the Day of his Execution: And Mr. Ford printed an Account of the Behaviour both of the Earl and of Lord Balmerino on the Day they were executed, which was said to be publish'd by the Authority of the Sheriffs. In some Things they agree, and in some they differ: Particularly, Mr. Ford says, it was at the Request of Lord Kilmarnock, that his Head was not held up and expos'd by the Executioner, as indeed neither his nor Lord Balmerino's were. Whereas Mr. Foster says, when the Earl was told, that his Head would be held up, and shewn to the Multitude as the Head of a Traitor, his Lordship express'd no Manner of Concern about it; and neither he nor those others who attended him, ever heard that he desired it might be omitted, and they were surpriz'd when they found it was. All that he desir'd was, that four Persons might receive his Head in a red Cloth, that it might not roll about the Scaffold; which was done. The Earl confess'd to Mr. Foster, that his careless and dissolute Life, by which he had reduced himself to great and pressing Difficulties, was the original Cause of his entering into the Rebellion. As to his Lady, he said, that tho' she was bred in different Sentiments, he thought her now more inclined to Whiggish than Jacobite Principles, and that instead of exciting him to it, she had dissuaded him from joining the Rebels. He solemnly denied his having any Hand in any Order for destroying the Prisoners before the Battle of Culloden, and that he ever knew of any Order for giving no Quarter, till he was a Prisoner at Inverness. When he heard of Lord Cromartie's Reprieve, he said he was extremely glad of it, and did not think, in the least, that any Injustice was done to himself. He own'd, that being induced by the strong Desire of Life, he had greatly falsify'd in his Speech to the Lords, when he said he chose voluntarily to surrender at the Battle of Culloden; for that he had no Intention to surrender, his only View being to facilitate his Escape, by getting up behind a Dragoon, thinking the Body to which he was advancing were not the King's, but Fitz-James's Horse. He desired that his retracting this Untruth might be publish'd to the World, that he might not be consider'd as presuming to appear before the Tribunal of God with a Lye in his Mouth. The Day before his Execution he sent a Letter to his Son the Lord Boyd, wherein

he gave him excellent and wise Instructions with regard to the future Conduct of his Life, putting him in Mind of his Duty to God and his Country, and to all Mankind, and earnestly exhorting him to continue in his Loyalty to his present Majesty, and the Succession to the Crown, as by Law established, looking on that as the Basis of the Civil and Religious Liberty and Property of every Individual in the Nation. He desir'd him to comfort his unhappy Mother, and to take Care of his Brothers, and to use all his Interest to get a Pardon for him who had been in the Rebellion; and to advise him to go to Geneva, where his Principles of Religion and Liberty would be confirm'd, and to stay there till he saw whether a Pardon could be procured him. The Earl continued all the Morning of his Execution, perfectly calm, serene, and unruffled. When General Williamson inform'd him, that the Sheriffs were come for the Prisoners, he said, *General, I am ready; I'll follow you.* He met Lord Balmerino at the Foot of the Stairs, and embrac'd him, who said, *My Lord, I am heartily sorry to have your Company in this Expedition.* The Paper said in our last to be read by Mr. Foster to the Sheriffs, was not then read, but was left with him to publish after his Lordship's Death, as it accordingly was; but Mr. Foster made a Declaration to the same Purpose in his Lordship's Name, to which he assented. Then Mr. Foster kneeled down with him and the whole Company, and pray'd for him. Tho' his Mind had been much fortified against the Fear of Death, yet when he was stepping into the Scaffold, struck with all the solemn Apparatus of his Execution, he said to Mr. Home, *Home, this is terrible!* which however he pronounced in such a Manner as shewed no Signs of a broken or disconcerted Mind. In short, his Behaviour was so humble and resign'd, that not only his Friends but the Spectators were deeply affected, and even the Executioner burst into Tears. With a Countenance perfectly serene and compos'd, he embrac'd his Friends, and took his final Leave of them, saying, he found himself perfectly easy and resign'd; and laying down his Head for the last Time, he gave the Signal in two Minutes, by dropping his Handkerchief, as he told the Executioner he would do.

We have less to say of the Lord Balmerino, as there are no authentick Accounts of his Behaviour but on the Day of his Execution. His mistaken Principles and general Character have been already mention'd. What is chiefly remarkable is the Conference he had with Lord Kilmarnock, in the House where they repos'd themselves before the Execution; which is related by Mr. Ford,

but more particularly by Mr. Foster. We are told, that whilst the two Lords were there in their separate Apartments (where they both refresh'd themselves twice with a Bit of Bread and a Glass of Wine) Lord *Balmerino* sent to the Earl of *Kilmarnock* to desire a short Interview with him; which the latter readily agreed to: Accordingly, Lord *Balmerino* being introduc'd into the Earl's Apartment, ask'd him, *whether he ever saw or knew of any Order, sign'd by the Prince (as he call'd the Pretender's Son) to give no Quarter at the Battle of Culloden?* *Kilmarnock* answer'd, *No*; and *Balmerino* reply'd, *Nor I neither*; and therefore it seems to be an Invention to justify their own Murder. The Earl said, *he did not think this Inference could be drawn from it; for when he was a Prisoner at Inverness, he was inform'd by several Officers, that there was such an Order, sign'd George Murray, and that it was in the Duke's Custody.* *Balmerino* answer'd short, *George Murray! why then they should not charge it on the Prince.* Then he embrac'd and took his Leave of the Earl, in these generous Words, *My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot pay all this Reckoning alone; once more, farewell for ever!* Lord *Balmerino* died in a professed Adherence to the mistaken Principles he had imbib'd from his Cradle; as Lord *Kilmarnock* says in the Paper he left behind him: And this, together with his natural Temper, made Lord *Balmerino* die with the more Assurance and less Concern; whereas the Earl confesses in the same Paper, that he engaged in the Rebellion, in Opposition to his own Principles, and to those of his Family, &c. of which he heartily repented. When the Under-Sheriff came for Lord *Balmerino*, his Lordship said, he suppos'd it was over with Lord *Kilmarnock*, and ask'd how the Executioner perform'd his Office; which being inform'd of, he said it was well done, and told those who were with him, that he would detain them no longer, for he did not desire to protract his Life. When he was refreshing himself with a Glass of Wine, he told the Company, he hop'd they would drink to him *in Degrae ta Haiven, one Step to Heaven.* He persisted to the last in declaring his Ignorance as to the Order for giving no Quarter, and said he would not have acted under such Order, as being unmilitary, and unbecoming a Soldier. Tho' his Principles were entirely Jacobite, yet we are told, that he acknowledged his Majesty

to be a Prince of the greatest Magnanimity and Mercy. The Regimentals he appear'd in, were the same he wore at the Battle of *Culloden*. When he came on the Scaffold, he look'd on the Block, and call'd it his *Pillow of Rest*; and said, that his Behaviour, which some might think bold, arose from his Confidence in God, and a clear Conscience. The Paper he read, was of such a Nature, that Mr. Ford says, nothing but the highest Authority could justify the publishing it. His last Prayer, according to him, was, *O Lord, reward my Friends, forgive my Enemies, * * * * * and receive my Soul* *. He had shew'd the Executioner where to strike, and bid him do it resolutely, for in that would consist his Mercy; but gave the Signal so suddenly, which was the dropping down of his Arms, as occasion'd the unlucky false Stroke, mentioned in our last; tho' that, in all Likelihood, depriv'd him of Sense, as the next did of his Life.

The Accounts publish'd concerning these two unhappy Lords have been attack'd in Conversation, from the Pulpit, in News Papers and Pamphlets. But as the Objections made to them seem most of them trifling, and shew no very good Spirit on either Side, and People seem to be pretty well tired with the Controversy, we shall not trouble our Readers much about it. One Writer, who calls himself a *Westminster Scholar*, finds fault with Mr. Foster for representing Lord *Kilmarnock* as a Penitent. The following Paragraph will shew his Candor. "As to the *Revolution Principles*, says he, which he (*viz.* Lord *Kilmarnock*) pretended to have always professed, this Passage will admit of a short Discussion. The Word *Revolution* signifies *Change*; it was adapted to this Government on the late King *William's* ascending the Throne, when a very great Change took Place, and has ever since been call'd the *Revolution*. Every Man who desires or wishes for another Change, may say that he professes *Revolution Principles*, and yet study to undermine the present Constitution. It is to be fear'd that this is the *Revolution Principle* boasted of, in Mr. Foster's Narrative of Lord *Kilmarnock's* Behaviour, while under Sentence of Death. Which the Author of the *Westminster Scholar* corrected calls an ill-natur'd Construction. The first mention'd Writer calls Lord *Kilmarnock* a Dissenter, tho' he was no Dissenter in Scotland, but of the

* In an Appendix to a Pamphlet against Mr. Ford's Account of Lord *Balmerino*, a Gentleman says, That he attended the Execution of the said Lord, and was one of those who held the Cloth to receive his Head; and was ready to make Oath, if required, that he heard no Prayer made by Lord *Balmerino*: And if there had been any Prayer, he must have heard it, as well as any other Person present.

the establish'd Church there : And having brought in the Word *Dissenter*, he in general Terms represents the Dissenters as joining in the Rebellion, from Discontent at not being able to get the Test Act repealed ; tho' not one Dissenter in England was in the Rebellion ; and but few of the establish'd Kirk in Scotland. So that this, surely, is as ill-natur'd a Construction as the other.

The Author of the *Seasonable Thoughts*, &c. who speaks of the Earl of Kilmarnock as falling an exemplary Pattern of noble Penitence, is displeas'd with Mr. Ford for raising Lord Balmerino's Character too high, bestowing lofty Epithets upon him, ascribing to him *Greatness of Soul*, &c. The Pamphlet, which is address'd to Mr. Ford, is writ with some Spirit and Judgment, but with a good deal of Asperity. For a Sample we shall give our Readers the following Paragraph.—“ Nor is Patience in suffering, a Proof of Innocence, or Goodness of the Cause, for which the Criminal suffers. Those execrable Impostors and Blasphemers, *John of Leyden*, our *Hacket and Cop-pinger* ; those desperate Assassines, *Javoregny, Ravilliac*, and our *Felton*, with whom I may rank that young Imp of Jacobitism *James Sheppard* ; and those dreadful Plotters, *Garnet and Guy Vaux*, might compare with any of the primitive Martyrs, for Patience under their Torments ; which, tho' many of them were exquisite, were far short of their horrid Impieties. We can draw therefore, no infallible Argument to prove the Truth of any Principle, from the visible Constancy of its Professor, or the Innocence of a Sufferer, from his Resolution in suffering Pain. The *French Lacquey*, who satisfied himself with dancing upon the Scaffold, when he was brought to be broken upon the Wheel, and our *Scots Nobleman*, who regaled himself with Snuff when he came to the Block, are enough to prove, that tho' Motives be different, they produce sometimes, at least to all Appearance, the same Effects. So true it is, that after all the Disproportion between Great Men and the Vulgar, or the Good and Bad, both Sorts often meet Death with the same Face ; but still with this inward and invisible Distinction, that Faith, Conscience, or a true Sense of Honour, preserves the Decorum in one, which, in the other, proceeds from an harden'd Boldness, from Ignorance and Stupidity impenetrable, which give their Thoughts Liberty to be otherwise entertain'd, and cloud them from comprehending the Enormity of Evil they are involved in. So that this contumacious Contempt of Death, which some haughty Malefactors affect to assume at their Executions, (and which appears to have been the Case with your Champion) is properly nothing else, but

the Fear or Inability of calmly considering and looking it in the Face ; and all their pretended Bravery or Defiance may be said to do the same Office only to their Minds, that the Headband, or Night-Cap does to their Eyes.—For your further Conviction, I cannot avoid giving you the Earl of Kilmarnock's Sentiments on this Head, the Morning of his Execution.—*For a Man who has led a dissolute Life, and yet believes the Consequences of Death, to put on an Air of Daringness and absolute Intrepidity, must argue him to be very stupid, or very impious.*

We shall conclude all with a Passage from another Pamphlet, the Writer of which however supposes, that upon different Motives both (to the Eyes of Men) died well. But speaking of the two Accounts, he says : “ To say the Truth, I cannot help thinking, that these Accounts very much resemble the Lords that suffered ; the first of them is hasty, vehement and full of Fire, like its Heroe, the Lord Balmerino ; the second is calm, gentle and full of Moderation, like its Subject, the Earl of Kilmarnock ; and if those unfortunate Noblemen may be allow'd to have been lucky in any Accident whatever, attending so melancholy a Catastrophe as theirs, I think it was in having two such Historians to commemorate their dying Behaviour, as the zealous Mr. F—d, and the accurate Mr F—r.”

As the Verses we have inserted in the Poetry, (p. 475) shew a partial Extreme on one Side, so the following favour of no less Partiality on the other.

Upon the different ACCOUNTS of the Behaviour of the Two executed Lords.

IF F—d and F—r haply disagree,
What is a trivial circumstance to me ?
But this, of their two heroes, I remark,
How'er th' historians leave us in the dark ;
Old rough and tugged much out-man'd the earl ;
And though mistaken, was a steady Carl.
The earl's conversion is an obvious thing,
If not to Christ, at least, to George our King.

From the London Evening Post.

OPPRESSIONS and EXTORTIONS of GOALERS.

S I R,

I BEG, thro' your Means, to convey to the Publick some Thoughts on a scandalous Practice that prevails, as I am inform'd, thro' all the Circuits of this Kingdom, that is, *The Goalers making their poor Prisoners pay Fees, after they are acquitted on*

their Trials; this great Grievance prevail'd too long, even in this Metropolis; but in the Mayoralty of Alderman *Barber* was redress'd, and ever since, all those who are acquitted at the *Old Baily*, are immediately discharg'd without paying of any Fees. What led me to this, was, being the other Day at *Hertford Assizes*, a poor labouring Man was tried (*with a very great Rogue*) for stealing some Skins and selling them, &c. It appear'd by the strongest Proof, that the poor Man had no Hand in stealing them, for he was gathering Peas, near 20 Miles from the Place, when the Fact was committed; but afterwards travelling near *Watford* for Work, the Rogue gave him 1s. 6d. to carry a Bag for him, wherein the Skins were; and no Proof appearing that he knew of their being stole, and having a good Character, he was acquitted, and the Person that stole them found Guilty; but this poor innocent Man was still detain'd in Goal: For what, any humane reasonable Man would ask? Why, till he could raise near 10s. for his Fees. The poor Man had spent all his Summer's Getting towards maintaining himself in Goal; and his Wife and Child, who came up to work with him, had pawn'd every Thing they could towards his Support: What Cruelty can exceed this? Is not lying in Goal a sufficient Punishment for an innocent Man? This Grievance calls aloud for Redress; and 'tis hoped each County will come into some Methods to prevent their Gaolers from stripping the Innocent, under Colour of Law.——The Editor of the last Edition of *State Trials* has set this Matter (as well as some other Abuses in Goalers,) in a clear Light; I shall therefore conclude this Letter with the following Extract from his Preface.

“Another thing (says he) in which our Law seems defective, is the Want of some farther Guard against the Packing of Juries and the Oppressions and Extortions of Goalers; as to the latter, I fear no Remedy will be effectual while they are suffer'd to buy and sell their Places; for while that is permitted, they will be under stronger Temptations than Men of their Character and Function usually resist, to exact more than is their Due; the Thing itself has the Appearance of Hardship, to force a Man into Goal against his Will, and yet oblige him to pay for his Admission into it: If he be guilty, the Punishment of the Law should be deem'd sufficient; but if innocent, the Hardship is still the greater, especially where it falls upon the Indigent and Necessitous.

It is chiefly owing to this, that our Goals swarm with Multitudes of miserable Objects, who lie there (very often) Year after Year, without any Hope of Redemp-

tion; so that when they have suffer'd the Penalty of the Law, they have a severer Punishment still to undergo for the Non-payment of Fees, a Debt which is forced upon them against their Consent, and is often out of their Power to discharge, whereby the poor Wretches are, in Effect, condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment; a Thing very odious in the Eye of the Law, even for great and heinous Crimes.

How much better would it be for the Publick to allow the Goaler a reasonable Salary, instead of these Perquisites which arise from the Miseries of the Unfortunate, who are thereby often necessitated to take dishonest and unlawful Methods to enable themselves to pay them?

While Prisoners are thus long detain'd, the true Design of Goal-Deliveries can never be answer'd: For how are Prisoners benefited by Goal-Deliveries, if after the Law has done with them, they may still be detain'd for Fees, they will, perhaps, never be able to pay?

A further Mischief arising from this long Detention of Prisoners, is, that it defeats the principal End of all Law and Justice. All Punishments below capital are intended to reform the Criminal, and deter him from offending again; but as our Goals are manag'd, it is to be fear'd they breed up and harden more Rogues than the Law either reclaims or removes. The Prisoners are indulg'd in so great a Liberty in Rioting and Debauchery, which the Keepers, who have the Advantage arising from Sale of the Liquors, find their Account in promoting; and the young Novices are permitted to contract so intimate an Acquaintance and Familiarity with the old Offenders, that our Goals are rather the Schools and Nurseries of all Manner of Roguery and Wickedness, than proper Places for Correction and Amendment.

Another Matter of Complaint is, that intolerable and inhuman Practice of many Goalers, who, to extort from their unhappy Guests such Sums as they shall think fit to exact, thrust them, as soon as they arrive within their Dominions, into stinking Dungeons, loading them with Fetters and Irons, till they can bring them to a Compliance with their unjust Demands: The Pretence, indeed, is, that they are answerable for their Prisoners, and therefore ought to be allow'd the Use of proper Means to secure them. That this is nothing but Pretence is sufficiently plain; Money being able to procure a Release from these Shackles, which do then become no longer necessary for the Safeguard of the Prisoner, having already answer'd their real Design.

I am, Sir, yours,
An ENGLISHMAN.

PROCEED

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 387.

In the Debate begun in your last, the next Speech I shall give you was that of P. Furius Philus, who, in the Character of Sir J—n Ph—ps, spoke to this Effect.

Mr. Chairman,

NEITHER the Motion which the Hon. Gentleman has now made, nor that which, he says, he intends to make, can be surprizing to any Gentleman who has perused the Estimates now upon our Table; but the Arguments he has made use of for obtaining our Approbation, must be surprizing to every one who considers the present Circumstances of *Europe*, and the Spirit which appears so generally in this Nation for supporting our present Establishment.

Sir, it has always been the Practice of Ministers to frighten the People with imaginary Dangers, when they have a Mind to bring them into such Measures as are inconsistent with their Liberties, or such as must involve them in a great and unnecessary Expence. This Practice has been so frequent, and is so well known, that I must think the Invention of our present Ministers a little barren, if they can find no other Method for obtaining our Consent to what is now proposed, because it of course excites our Curiosity, and prompts us to inquire not only into the Nature of the Dangers we are now threatned with, but also the Means by which we have been exposed to such Dangers; and neither of these Inquiries can, in my Opinion, turn out much to the Advantage either of their Character, or of the Project they have now set on Foot.

As to the Danger the Liberties of *Europe*, or the Liberties of this Nation, are threatned with from the

September, 1746

Event of the present War. I always thought it imaginary; and tho' our Ministers have done what lay in their Power to make it real, I must still think of it in the same Way. The Liberties of *Europe* can never be in
A Danger, as long as there is no single Power in *Europe* so great as to render it impossible to form a Confederacy sufficient for giving a Check to its ambitious Views; and this, surely, cannot be the Consequence of the present War, let the Event be what
B it will. Supposing the Armies of *France* and *Spain* should be every where victorious, as these two Nations are now under distinct Governments, the one will always be a Check upon the other, so as to prevent either of them extending their
C Views so far as to become dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*; because the other would of course become involved in the common Danger. Suppose, for Instance, that *France*, encouraged by her Victories, should extend her Conquests so as to be-
D come dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*, is it to be reasonably supposed, that *Spain* would not in that Case not only abandon her Alliance, but declare against her? But suppose that *Spain* should be so blinded by her Revenge, or by her Hopes of
E having a Share of the Spoil, as to continue in close Alliance with, and under the Direction of the Court of *France*, would it be impossible to form a Confederacy in *Europe* sufficient not only for putting a Stop to their Conquests, but for obliging
F them to restore all they had conquer'd?

Can any Gentleman deny this, Sir, who considers the Circumstances *Europe* was in at the Beginning of the late Queen's Reign? *Spain* was then under the absolute Direction of the King of *France*, by which Means he

M m m

was

was in the actual Possession not only of the *Spanish* Monarchy, but of all the Dominions belonging to it, both in *Europe* and *America*. Besides, he had the King of *Portugal*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* in Alliance with him. Thus the Power of *France* was at that Time become really formidable to the Liberties of *Europe*, and the ambitious Views of that Nation had been sufficiently manifested by the Measures they had pursued during the whole Course of the Reign of their then Monarch. Yet this formidable Power was not only check'd, but brought to the Brink of Ruin, by a Confederacy that at first consisted only of the House of *Austria*, the *Dutch*, and this Nation; for the Empire was no Party to this Confederacy, nor did any of the other Members thereof at first seem to give it much Countenance. We must therefore conclude, that the Liberties of *Europe* are at present in no Danger, nor can they be in any great Danger from the Event of the present War, let it be never so successful on the Part of *France*, because the Powers of *Europe*, especially the *Dutch*, would unite for putting a Stop to the Progress of the *French* Arms, as soon as they found them beginning to grow dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*, and would apply to us for our Assistance, as they did at the latter End of *K. William's*, and Beginning of *Q. Anne's* Reign.

We have, therefore, no Reason to apprehend the Liberties of *Europe* being in Danger from the Event of the present War, and consequently can have no Reason for augmenting our Army, or putting ourselves to any extraordinary Expence upon that Account. But now, Sir, suppose that the Liberties of *Europe* were now in real Danger, who is to be blamed for *Europe's* being exposed to this Danger? No one will say it was *France* that began the War now carrying on upon the Continent, nor did the *French* shew the least Intention to

make any Conquest for themselves, till provoked to it by our Measures. Upon the Death of the Emperor *Charles VI.* the King of *Prussia* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, 'tis true, laid Claim to some Part of his Dominions in *Germany*, and *Spain* laid Claim to his Dominions in *Italy*. Suppose the King of *Prussia* had got a Part of *Silesia*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, a Part of the *Austrian* Dominions in *Germany*, and *Don Philip* a Part of those in *Italy*, would the Power of *France* have been thereby increased, or would the Liberties of *Europe* have been thereby brought into any Danger? What then was our Business to intermeddle in the Disputes occasioned by that Emperor's Death, any other Way than by our good Offices, especially as neither the *Dutch* nor any of the Princes of *Germany* would join with us in any Thing else?

Sir, if we had followed the Example, or taken the Advice of our good Allies the *Dutch*, and refused to intermeddle in the Dispute between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Prussia*, any other Way than by our good Offices, I am convinced, they would have soon come to an Accommodation, which would have prevented any War in *Europe*; for if the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Prussia* had come to an Accommodation, even upon the Terms he offered, the *French* could have found no Pretence, nor would they have dared to have sent an Army into *Germany*; and as little would the *Spaniards* have dared to have sent an Army into *Italy*, even tho' we had not had a Ship in the *Mediterranean*. In this Case the Duke of *Bavaria* must have desisted from his Claim, the King of *Sardinia* could have desired no new Slice of the *Milanese*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* would then have been chosen Emperor without Opposition; so that the present War, and all the Misfortunes the House of *Austria* have met with, are owing to the Queen of *Hungary's* not accepting

cepting the Terms offered her by the King of *Prussia*, when he first entered *Silesia*; therefore, in order to find out the Means by which *Europe* has been exposed to the present Danger, whatever it may be, we must inquire how the Queen of *Hungary* came to reject the Terms offered her by *Prussia*; and this we may easily discover by the Papers that have in former Sessions been laid upon our Table.

As the King of *Prussia*'s Claim, Sir, was not a Claim of Succession, but a Claim of Right, as it was a Claim that might have been made upon the late Emperor as well as upon his Successor, it was no Breach of, or Incroachment upon the *Pragmatick Sanction*, therefore, tho' we had, Hand over Head, guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, we had good Reason to alledge, that the King of *Prussia*'s invading *Silesia* was no *Casus Fœderis*, and consequently, that we were not obliged to assist the Queen of *Hungary* against him. This Argument the *Dutch* actually made use of, and in Consequence thereof they absolutely refused to assist her against the King of *Prussia*; but we took a quite different Course; we not only promised her our Assistance, but actually gave it in Money, and prepared for giving it likewise in Troops. Before she was attacked by any but the King of *Prussia*, we gave her 300,000*l.* and took the *Danish* and *Hessian* Troops into actual Pay: Nay, we went still further, those Troops were ordered to march, and a large Body of our own Troops were ordered to make ready for embarking, and would, I believe, have embarked, if the *Dutch* had not wisely refused them a Passage, in order to form an Army in *Hanover*, which was to have been joined by the Troops of that Electorate, just then augmented with an Addition of 6000 Men; and with this Army, it was evident, we designed to have attack'd *Prussia* on the Side of *Magdebourg*, while the Queen of *Hungary* attacked him on the Side of *Silesia*.

While we were thus, by our Promises, our Money, and our warlike Preparations, encouraging the Queen of *Hungary* to reject the Offers of *Prussia*, the *French* cunningly pretended to have such pacifick Inclinations, that they would no Way interfere in the Affairs of *Germany*; and for a long while we were simple enough to believe them, even tho' they were openly making Preparations to act contrary to their pacifick Professions. What was the Consequence? These Measures at last threw the King of *Prussia* entirely into the Arms of the *French*; and when they were assured of his entering into an Alliance with them, they pulled off the Mask, and marched two Armies into *Germany*, one to the Assistance of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and another into *Westphalia*, for binding *Hanover* to its good Behaviour, making use of the Pretence we had furnished them with, that since an Army of foreign Troops was to be formed in the Empire, they had a Right to march their Armies into it, in order to preserve the Constitution and Liberties of the *Germanick* Body.

Thus, Sir, it must appear, that whatever Danger the Liberties of this Nation, or the Liberties of *Europe*, may be exposed to by the Event of the present War, we have none but ourselves to blame for it; and as to the Conquests that *France* has made, or may hereafter make in *Flanders*, we alone have been the Cause of it; for till we sent our Troops thither, the *French* never offered to attack the Queen of *Hungary* on that Side; and now they have been by us provoked to do so, I am afraid, it will not be in her or our Power, without some other Assistance, either to recover what they have taken, or to prevent their taking more. But suppose they should make an entire Conquest of the *Austrian Netherlands*, and suppose they should get that Conquest confirmed to them by a Peace, the Liberties of

Europe could not thereby be exposed to any real Danger, and much less the Liberties of this Nation; for if they should attempt either the one or the other, it would be as easy now to form a sufficient Confederacy against them, as it was in the Beginning of the late Queen's Reign, when they were much more powerful than that Conquest can now make them.

Having now, I hope, fully explained the Nature of the Danger we are exposed to from the Event of the present War, and the Means by which we have been brought into that Danger, whatever it may be, I must next beg Leave to consider the Danger we are exposed to from the Event of the present Rebellion, and the Means by which we have been brought into that Danger. As to the Nature of this Danger, it admits of a twofold Consideration; for, I think, we have something to apprehend from the Rebellion's proving unsuccessful, as well as from its proving successful. With Respect to the first, it is a Maxim in Politicks, confirmed by many Examples in our History, that an unsuccessful Rebellion always adds to the Power and Influence of the Crown; that is to say, the Ministers and Favourites of the Crown; now, as I think their Power already too great, I think we have a great deal to fear from any Increase that may be made to that Power by the Defeat of the present Rebellion. This is a Danger which we will prevent, if we follow the Footsteps of our brave Ancestors in the Reign of *Richard the Second*. At that Time, we were threatened with a most formidable Invasion from *France*, a much more formidable than that we are now threatened with, and the Danger was at that Time much greater than it is now, because *France* was then so powerful at Sea, that we could not prevent it by our Navy. It was designed to be made from *Sluice* in

Flanders, a Place now in Possession of the *Dutch*, which shews that *France* had, at that Time, Possession of a greater Part of the *Netherlands* than she has at present; and instead of a pitiful Rebellion in *Scotland*, we had that whole Kingdom, united under their King, our declared Enemies, and ready to invade the Northern Part of this Kingdom, while *France* was preparing to invade the Southern with a Fleet of upwards of 1200 Ships, and an Army of 60,000 fighting Men. This, Sir, was a real Danger, and a most just Ground of Fear; yet our Ancestors, at that Time, preferred providing for the Security of their Liberties against the Incroachments of Ministers, before providing for their Security against this foreign Danger. A very numerous Army had been raised by the King, who, for Want of Pay, were living upon free Quarter here about *London*, and a Parliament was called to raise Money for maintaining that Army; but that Parliament, notwithstanding the Danger they were in from abroad, notwithstanding the Distress the Country was in at home, would grant no Money, till they had taken such Measures as they thought proper for redressing the Grievances, and securing the Liberties of the People.

I do not mention this, Sir, with any Design to advise our delaying to provide against the Rebellion, or the threatened Invasion; but at the same Time that we are providing against that Danger, I think, we ought to provide against the other. A Place-Bill, a Pension-Bill, and a Triennial-Bill, may be carried on with, and may be as soon passed; as a Land-Tax or a Malt-Bill; and, I think, we ought to take Care to have the three former assented to by the King, before either of the two latter be sent up to the other House; because from Experience we may judge of the Reception the three former will otherwise meet with in that Assembly.

ably. If we do not follow this Method: If we do not lay hold of this Opportunity for securing our Liberties against the corrupt Influence of Ministers, I will venture to prophesy, that we shall never meet with another; and I recommend this Method with the more Earnestness, because I am fully convinced, that it would be the most effectual Method for securing us against any Invasion, as well as for rendering the present Rebellion unsuccessful.

As to the Danger our Religion and Liberties might be in, should the Rebellion prove successful, I need say nothing of it; because, if we take the Method I have mentioned, I do not think we are in the least Danger of its proving successful; and am really surprized, that any Gentleman should endeavour to frighten us with such a chimerical Danger. To suppose, that a Government, provided with a Navy far superior to any their Enemies can fit out against them, and with an Army of 60 or 70,000 regular Troops, besides those we have a Right to call for from our Allies: I say, to suppose, that such a Government is in Danger of being overturned by 3 or 4000 Country Fellows, got together in a distant Corner of the Kingdom, is, I think, one of the most extravagant Suppositions that Cowardice or Pusillanimity can suggest.

They have, 'tis true, defeated a small Body of our regular Troops, and they have, by Surprise, got Possession of the Capital of Scotland: What then? We know that we have many more Friends in Scotland than Enemies; and if all Scotland should declare for the Rebellion, as long as our Fleet, our Army, and the People of England, declare for supporting the Government, we have nothing to fear. The only Thing we have to fear, is an Insurrection of a great Part of the People of England, which would very probably be followed by a Defection of our

Fleets and Armies. This, Sir, would be a just Ground of Fear, and certainly the best Method for preventing this, is, to give the People Satisfaction with Respect to those Laws they have been long calling aloud for.

Do not let us trust, Sir, to that Spirit and Zeal, which has so generally appeared among the People, for supporting our present Government: We all know from whence that Spirit proceeds: It proceeds from their Love of Liberty, and the Confidence they have, that this Session of Parliament will rectify every Abuse that has been lately introduced, and remove every Grievance that may hereafter be of dangerous Consequence to their Liberties. If they should find themselves disappointed in their Hopes, by our continuing to sit and pass the Money-Bills, without attempting to remove that Grievance which they have so generally complained of, and which they think, as it certainly is, of the most dangerous Consequence to their Liberties, that popular Spirit which now prevails may take a very different Turn; and we know how quick and how general such a Turn may be. If this should happen, Sir, a very few foreign Troops landed by Surprise in England, or the March of the Rebels into England, might raise such a Flame as it would be impossible for the Government to extinguish, or, at least, such a Flame as would occasion a great deal of Bloodshed before it could be extinguished.

This, Sir, is the Danger, and the only real Danger we have to guard against; and towards exposing us to this Danger, nothing, I think, can contribute more than the Proposition now made to us, especially if we should agree to it before making the least Step towards removing that Corruption, which has already, I am afraid, too much undermined our Constitution. However artfully the Pill may be gilded by the noble Lords

Lords who propose to raise those Regiments for the publick Service; however much their Favourites may boast of their Honour, their Courage, their publick Spirit, and disinterested Zeal, the People will consider, that a Regiment in the *British* Service is a very lucrative, as well as a very pretty Play-thing, especially when it is not to be sent abroad, or employ'd against our foreign Enemies: They will consider, that the several Commissions under the Colonel are Posts that are usually sold for large Sums of Money, and that consequently, the Raising and Cloathing of the Regiment needs be no Expence, but may be a very great Advantage to the Colonel, besides the daily Profits it will bring him in after it is raised, as long as it continues in the Service. The People will therefore look upon this as a new Scheme of Corruption, instead of looking upon it as a Scheme for guarding against an Invasion, or for enabling us to put an End to the Rebellion; and this they will be the more apt to do, because we can have no Occasion for any new Regiments, considering the great Number of regular Troops we have already on Foot, the Facility and Dispatch with which we may bring our Troops over from *Flanders*, and the little Reason we have for employing them any where but for our own Safety at home.

Besides the Danger, Sir, of giving a Turn to the Spirit of the People, our agreeing to this Proposition will be attended with another Danger still more to be apprehended at the present Conjuncture, which is that of its raising Dissatisfaction, and a Mutiny in our Army. The Officers of our regular Army all think they have, and, I believe, every Gentleman will allow they have a Right to Preferment in its due Course; therefore when any new Regiments are raised, the oldest Lieutenant-Colonels have a Right to have the

Command of these new-raised Regiments conferred upon them, the Majors not preferred in their Room have a Right to be made Lieutenant-Colonels, and so in Course, down to the lowest Ensign in our regular Army. From hence we may see what a Heartburning it will cause in the Army, should we raise fifteen new Regiments, and give the Command of them to Noblemen, few of whom were ever before in the Service; and we must conclude, that this Heartburning will be greatly increased, when we consider, that these noble Colonels are to have the naming and appointing of all their inferior Officers, few of whom, I believe, will be such as either by their Standing, or their Merit, have a Right to any extraordinary Preferment; for without any Design to derogate from the Knowledge or Capacity of these noble Colonels, I must observe, that Officers of real Merit are seldom the Favourites or Companions of Noblemen who were never in the Army, because they attend their Duty so exactly that they have not Time to attend Levees.

Sir, I have very seldom been an Advocate for Prerogative, but this of giving Noblemen Commissions to raise Regiments, with a Privilege to chuse and appoint all their inferior Officers, is, I think, one of the most dangerous Incroachments that was ever made upon the Prerogative of the Crown. Such Regiments must always be more at the Devotion of their Colonel than their Sovereign; and this I take to be of the most dangerous Consequence to the King, the Constitution, and the Peace of the Nation. I have always been against our keeping up standing Armies; but as long as we do, or as often as we find it necessary to do so, I shall be for keeping the Dependence of that Army as much as possible fixed upon the King, or upon the King and Parliament; therefore I must always be against allowing any

any Colonel, let his Quality be ever so high, the Privilege of appointing his inferior Officers: And I must say, that those who advised his Majesty to make such a Precedent, were not, in my Opinion, true Friends either to the Crown or to the Constitution A of this Kingdom.

I could mention several other Dangers and Inconveniencies that must ensue from our agreeing to this Proposition; but I think it unnecessary, because, I think, I can show that we have no Occasion to raise any B new Regiments, and that if we had, they might be raised in the usual Way, or the Parliament might empower the Crown to raise them, without being obliged to grant dangerous Privileges to any particular Set of Men. As to Invasions, Sir, C I think it ridiculous to talk now of our being in Danger of any such. The People have so generally manifested their Zeal for the Support of the present Government, and have naturally such an Aversion both to the *French* and *Spaniards*, that, how- D ever much they may amuse and terrify weak Minds with their Equipments and Preparations for an Invasion, they will not land a few Troops in *England*, our Navy will prevent its being possible for them to land a great Number; and if they should E steal a few Troops into any Part of *Scotland*, we shall have Time enough to prepare for giving them a proper Reception: For preventing an Invasion therefore, it is quite unnecessary for us, at this Time, to put ourselves to the Expence of raising any new F Regiments; and with regard to the Rebels, as there is not the least Appearance of their being joined or supported by any great Number of People in *England*, surely we have Troops enough in our Pay for doing what we will with them; for by the G most authentick Accounts, their Number does not exceed *four or five thousand Men*, and we have now upon the Establishment in *Flanders*,

and for Guards and Garisons at home, 43,875 Men of regular Troops, besides 11,550 Marines.

When I consider this, Sir, I am really ashamed to hear Gentlemen talk of our being in any Danger from the Rebellion: But perhaps it may be said, that we must not call home our Troops from *Flanders*, lest by their Absence the Liberties of *Europe* should be swallowed up by *France*. Sir, it was for this very Reason I set out with shewing, that the Liberties of *Europe* are in no Danger from the Event of the present War, and therefore we ought not to expose our Domestick Safety to the least Danger for the Sake of supporting the War upon the Continent, nor ought we to put ourselves to any new Expence upon that Account; for which Reason, if the Troops we have now at home be not thought sufficient for putting an End to the Rebellion, we ought to call over from *Flanders* as many as will be sufficient, and consequently we can have no Occasion for raising any new Regiments.

But now supposing, Sir, that we could not call over any of our Troops from *Flanders*, without exposing the Liberties of *Europe* to extreme Danger, and that for this Reason it would be absolutely necessary for us to raise new Regiments for preserving the Tranquillity of *England*, whilst the regular Troops we have at home were employed in quelling the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, I will engage, Sir, that the Crown, without the Assistance of any Nobleman or other Grandee, might raise fifty Regiments, if necessary, for that Purpose, provided those that enlisted were assured of not being sent out of *England*, and of being at Liberty after the Expiration of the Time for which they enlisted. In the present Method of recruiting, and according to the present Rules of our Army, I do not wonder of its being very difficult to find Recruits: On the contrary, I wonder that any Man

Man in his right Wits does ever inlist: A list'd Soldier is, by our present Regulations, a Slave for Life, and whenever the Government pleases, may be transported to *Gibraltar* or *Minorca*, *Jamaica*, or *Newfoundland*; nor can he prevent this by any Agreement he can make at the Time of inlisting. The *Highland* Regiment is a remarkable, and a late Instance of this: When the *Highland* Companies were first raised, it was generally understood, and publickly declared, that they were to be employed only in preserving the Peace of the Highlands, and consequently were never to march out of that Country; and I make no Doubt but many of the Men agreed with their Captains to have their Discharge after such a Time, or whenever they demanded it. But some Time after, those Companies were regimented, and at last ordered to march for *England*, in order, as they thought, to be transported to *Jamaica*, which, because of the Climate, they look'd on as certain Death. Upon this they thought they had a Right to leave the Service, but they soon found the contrary; for some of them were shot, and many others transported for attempting to make use of this Right.

This being the Case, Sir, we cannot wonder, as I have said, at its being so difficult to find Recruits for our regular Army. No Man in his right Wits would inlist upon such hard Conditions: No Man, I believe, does, unless he is drunk, or hurried out of his Senses by some ungovernable Passion. But there is no Occasion for putting such hard Conditions upon those that may inlist in the new Regiments. As we have by the Establishment 15,768 Men of regular Troops in *Britain*, they, or most of them, might be sent to *Scotland*, and would certainly be sufficient for quelling a Rebellion that does not consist of above 5000 Men, especially as they would be assisted by a great Ma-

jority of the People of that Country. There would therefore be no Occasion for sending any of the new-raised Regiments out of *England*, or to keep them standing after the Rebellion's being extinguished, consequently his Majesty might declare by Proclamation, that no Man inlisted in any of these new-raised Regiments should be obliged to march out of *England*, or to serve longer than for six or twelve Months; and if such a Proclamation were published, I am persuaded, his Majesty might, in a few Days, have as many Regiments completed, as he could have Occasion for, without doing Injustice to, or disobliging any of the old Officers of our regular Army, who might have Preferment, if they desired it, according to their respective Ranks, in these new Regiments, and would certainly make the Regiments more serviceable than they could be, were they composed of Officers as well as Men, that had never before been in the Service.

Lastly, Sir, supposing it should be thought, that even such a Proclamation as I have mentioned, would not procure Soldiers enough for the new Regiments, and consequently, that the Crown could not by its own Authority, raise any new Regiments, is not the Parliament now sitting? Has not the King and Parliament Authority enough, if they please, to make every Man in the Kingdom a Soldier. I shall not say, that we can make every Man a brave Soldier; but we may oblige every Man from 16 to 60 to inlist; and as Courage is improved by Example, if we make Soldiers, I hope, those noble Lords who have shewn themselves so ready to venture their Lives in the Service of their Country, will, by their Example, make them brave Soldiers. I hope, we shall hear no more of noble Colonels sitting in their easy Chair here in *London*, and taking the Profits of their Regiment, without having ever seen it, or at least without having ever

ever appeared at the Head of their Regiment, unless it was at a Review. We must, therefore, conclude, that his Majesty neither was, nor is under any Difficulty about raising new Regiments; because if he had, he would, certainly, by his Speech, or by a Message, have desired us to furnish him with new Powers for that Purpose; consequently, we must conclude, that the raising of these new Regiments was not a brave and generous Offer, but a humble Supplication from those Noblemen, or, perhaps, a Supplication by Way of a threatening Demand, that they might have a Pretence for having the Pay and Perquisites of a Colonel of a Regiment; and considering the Distress their Country is in, and the little Occasion we have for being at the Expence of any new Regiments, we may from thence judge of their Generosity and publick Spirit.

I hope, Sir, I have now fully explained the Nature of the Danger we are exposed to from the Rebellion; and, I hope, I have from thence proved, that we neither can, nor ought to agree to the Proposition now under Consideration. As to the Means by which we have been brought into this Danger, they have been so fully explained in a former Debate, that I shall not repeat what was said upon that Occasion; and therefore shall conclude with recommending this Observation to your most serious Consideration, That in all the Measures you take for preserving the Liberties of Europe, you would have a Regard to the Liberties of the Germanick Body; and that in all the Measures you take for preserving our present Establishment, you would have a Regard to the Liberties of the People of England; for if you do not, instead of preserving, you will certainly overturn both the one and the other.

I shall next give you what was said in this Debate by Servilius Priscus, September, 1746

in the Character of H—ry P—lh—m. Esq; which was in Substance thus.

*Mr. Chairman,
S I R,*

HOWEVER much the Hon. Gentleman may be surprized at the Arguments made use of for recommending this Motion, no Man who considers the Nature of it can, in my Opinion, be under any Surprize; and if those Arguments should be the Occasion of Gentlemens inquiring into the Nature of the Dangers we are now exposed to, or the Means by which we were brought into them, it will give me a sensible Satisfaction, because, I am sure, such an Inquiry will contribute to the Success of the Motion; and whether or no it may contribute to the Character of those that brought us into these Dangers, is a Question that can give me no Manner of Anxiety. The Ministers of France must, certainly, upon a strict Inquiry, appear to be the true and original Authors: Their Pride and Ambition must be allowed to be the true Cause of our present Confusions, as well as it has been the Cause of all the Confusions which Europe, and this Nation in particular, has been involved in for a Century past; and I hope no Gentleman in this House is, I am sure I am not, under any Concern about their Character. Ever since the famous Cardinal Richlieu set the Crown of France out of its Leading-strings, as he himself expressed it, the Ministers of that Nation have been forming Schemes for setting their Neighbours by the Ears together, that they might reap some Advantage from the Confusion: Like true Incendiaries, they set their Neighbours Houses on Fire, that, during the Conflagration, they may have an Opportunity to plunder them of some of the most valuable Things that belong to them.

This, Sir, has for a long Time been the true Character of the French
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Ministers; no Change, no Death, that has happened at that Court, could put an End to their acting in this Character, nor could it be prevented by any Promise, any Engagement, or any Treaty that could be made with, or obtained of them, as was fully manifested upon the Death of the late Emperor *Charles* the VIth. They had, for a valuable Consideration, engaged, they had promised as solemnly as ever any Promise was made, to guaranty the *Pragmatic Sanction* established by that Emperor; but no sooner did they hear of his Death, than they began to act contrary to that Promise, by instigating several of the Powers of *Europe* to controvert that Right which they had guaranty'd; and instead of assisting the Queen of *Hungary* according to their Engagement, they sent Fleets and Armies to the Assistance of those who were going to attack her. Instead of protecting the Liberties of *Germany*, and the free Election of an Emperor, as they were bound to do by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, they sent Armies into the Empire to compel the Electors to chuse the Duke of *Bavaria*.

Could any one, Sir, mistake the Views of the *French* Ministers in this their Manner of acting? Was any one so blind as not to see their true Design in all these treacherous Proceedings? They had secured the Queen of *Spain*, by promising to assist her in her Views upon the *Austrian* Dominions in *Italy*; they had secured the King of *Prussia*, by instigating him to make, and promising to assist him in making good his Claim upon *Silesia*; and their next Design was to make sure of having an Emperor of *Germany* in their Interest, by getting the Duke of *Bavaria* chosen Emperor, and by putting him in Possession of a great Part of the *Austrian* Dominions in *Germany*. If they had succeeded in all this, if we had allowed them to carry this whole Scheme into Execu-

tion, I should be glad to know where we could have found, or how we could have formed a Confederacy sufficient for giving a Check to any further View, Ambition might suggest to the Ministers of *France*?

A In my Opinion, it would have been impossible to form any such Confederacy; and we may very easily guess what would have been the next View, which Ambition would have suggested to those Ministers. Sir, after having established a Vice-Emperor in *Germany*, it is evident that their next View would have been to have established a Vice-King in *Britain*.

It signifies nothing, Sir, to say, that the *French* did not begin the War, or that they did not shew an Intention to make any Conquests for themselves. The War was in Effect begun by them, because it was begun by those Princes whom they had found Means to make their Tools: And tho' they shewed no Intention to make any Conquests for themselves; tho' they made the strongest Professions to the contrary, surely no Man was credulous enough to believe them. In the last War they declared against the late Emperor, on Pretence of his opposing the Election of *Stanislaus* to the Crown of *Poland*, did they not make the strongest Professions that they intended no Conquests for themselves? Did not his Most Christian Majesty, by his Minister at *Ratisbon*, declare in the most solemn Manner to the Diet of the Empire, 'That his Majesty, content with what he possessed, was far from desiring to make use of the Success of his Arms for extending his Frontiers; that he did not hesitate to declare solemnly, that he had no View to make Conquests, or to keep any Post or Place which was of consequence to the Security of the German Territory?' Yet, notwithstanding this solemn Declaration, did he not make use of the Success of his Arms for extending his

his Frontier, by annexing to his Crown the whole Dutchy of *Lorrain*, which is certainly of the utmost Consequence to the Security of all the *German Territories* on the West Side of the *Rhine*?

There is, therefore, no trusting to what may appear upon any Occasion to be the Intention of *French Ministers*, nor ought we to put any Trust in their Professions: If we had given no Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, and she had been by that Means obliged to submit to such Terms as might have been prescribed to her by the Court of *Versailles*, it is not, I think, to be doubted, that they would not have obliged her, among other Cessions, to have yielded the *Austrian Netherlands* to the Emperor, and by a private Treaty they would have obliged him to yield that whole Country up to them. In that Case, can we suppose, that they would have allowed the *Dutch* to have continued their Garisons in the Barrier Towns; or that in such Circumstances the *Dutch* would have refused withdrawing their Garisons? Sir, in the Circumstances that *Europe* would then have been in, the *Dutch* durst neither have refused this Demand, nor any other Demand the *French Court* had made; and the next would certainly have been, that the *Dutch* should join with them in placing the Pretender upon the Throne of these Realms. Would it then have been in our Power, Sir, to have opposed an Invasion either by Sea or Land? Must we not in such a Case have submitted to receive a King from *France*, with his certain Attendants, Popery and arbitrary Power, enforced by Armies of *Frenchmen*, and propagated by Crowds of Monks, Friars, Priests, and Jesuits?

From hence it must appear, Sir, that the Liberties of this Nation, as well as the Liberties of *Europe*, would have been in the utmost Danger, if at the Beginning of this War we had no Way intermeddled but by

our good Offices: Nay, I think it certain, that the War would have ended in the overthrow of both; and tho' this Danger may now be a little more remote, I think, it is no less certain than it was in the Beginning, should we desist from giving the Queen of *Hungary* any farther Assistance. The Duke of *Lorrain* is, 'tis true, at last chosen Emperor, and the *Bavarians* have desisted from their Claim upon the *Austrian* Succession; but the *French* have not acknowledged the Duke of *Lorrain's* Election, nor have the *Bavarians* resigned their Pretensions, and the *Spaniards* are still prosecuting, with too much Success, their Claim upon the *Austrian* Dominions in *Italy*. Should we withdraw our Assistance either from the Queen of *Hungary* or King of *Sardinia*, the Fate of War would probably soon turn every where in Favour of *France*, and the King of *Sardinia* would be obliged to accept of any Terms his Enemies might prescribe. In this Case, the *Bavarians* would probably renew their Claim, and the Diet of the Empire might be prevailed on to declare the last Election void, to proceed to a new Election, and to chuse the young Duke of *Bavaria*, in the Room of his Father; by all which *Europe* would be reduced to the same melancholy Circumstances it might have been, had we at first refused to give any Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*; and those melancholy Circumstances would be attended with the same fatal Consequences to this Nation.

For our own Safety, therefore, as well as for the Safety of *Europe*, we were and still are obliged to assist the Queen of *Hungary* against the *French*; for the Sake of our Honour we were and still are obliged to assist her against the *Spaniards*, as they were and still are our declared Enemies; and by the defensive Alliance then subsisting between the House of *Austria* and this Nation, if not by our

Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, we were obliged to assist her against both the King of *Prussia* and Duke of *Bavaria*. I shall grant, that it was for our Interest, and for the Interest of *Europe*, to prevail, if we could, with the Queen of *Hungary* to give Satisfaction to both these Princes, in order to unite the *Germanick* Body, and to prevent the *French* (whose chief Business is always to sow Dissension) from intermeddling in their Affairs; and it is evident, that his Majesty endeavoured this as much as he could; but he could not prescribe, and if she refused to follow his Advice, he could not on that Account deny her the Assistance we were by Treaty obliged to give. Besides, it is well known, that the *French* were privately making great Offers to that Princess, at the same Time that they were spiring up the *Prussians*, *Bavarians*, and *Spaniards* against her. This obliged us to use great Management and Discretion with regard to her, for had we pretended to force her into an Accommodation either with *Prussia* or *Bavaria*, it might have thrown her into the Arms of *France*, and produced an Alliance between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, which would have been of the most dangerous Consequence to all the other States of *Europe*, particularly to this Nation, then engaged in open War with one of the Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, and a War too, upon the Event of which the Freedom, I may say, the very Being of our Trade and Navigation depended.

From what I have said, Sir, it is evident, that the present War, and the Danger resulting therefrom, is entirely owing to the Ambition of the Court of *France*; and as to removing the Seat of War into *Flanders*, it is very evident, that by our sending our Troops to that Country, we have restored the Tranquillity of *Germany*, and got the Duke of *Lorraine* chosen Emperor; for we thereby

prevented its being in the Power of *France*, to send such Numbers of Troops to the Assistance of the Duke of *Bavaria*, then Emperor of *Germany*, as she otherwise might; by which the Queen of *Hungary*'s Armies became superior in *Germany*. This was, perhaps, one of the Causes of the last Emperor's Death, and was certainly the Cause of his Son's concluding a Peace with the Queen of *Hungary*, and agreeing to give his Vote for the Duke of *Lorraine*'s being Emperor. What if the *French* have made some Conquests in *Flanders*, what if they should make themselves Masters of all the *Austrian Netherlands*? If the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Sardinia* can with our Assistance expel the *French* and *Spanish* Armies out of *Italy*, and if the Rebellion in this Island were once extinguished, both which will, I hope, be accomplished before the End of the next Campaign, we shall be able to attack *France* so vigorously, and in so many Places, that with the Assistance of Providence, we may soon oblige her to give up her Conquests, with something of her own by Way of Satisfaction for the Damages she has occasioned. Therefore, if we continue our vigorous Measures, neither the Liberties of *Europe*, nor the Liberties of this Nation, can be in any Danger from the Event of the present War; but if we relax, if we grow pusillanimous, or tired of the Expence, both will be in Danger, both will be utterly undone.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Rebellion, so unhappily broke out amongst us, I shall grant, that if no Insurrection happen in *England*, if no Body of foreign Troops be landed, and if the Number of the Rebels does not very much increase in *Scotland*, we are in no Danger from the Event; but will any Gentleman say, we are not exposed to every one of these three Accidents? And if either of them should happen, it will be admitted,

I believe, that we should be in some Danger; if all the three should happen, we should then be in the most imminent and extreme Danger, from the Event of the Rebellion. An Invasion, or an Insurrection, in England we should guard against with the utmost Caution, and at any Expence, because should either of these happen, I do not question but it would very much increase the Number of Rebels in Scotland; and if but 3 or 4000 foreign regular Troops should be landed in any Part of England, I as little question its being attended with an Insurrection, unless we have Regiments regularly formed in every Part of the Kingdom, and ready at a Moment's Warning to march, in order to disperse any Number of the Disaffected that may presume to assemble in Arms against the Government. Should we call over all our Troops from Flanders, they would not be sufficient for this Purpose; because, besides the Army we must send to Scotland, we must have a large Body of Troops here about London for securing our Capital, upon which, I may say, our Whole depends; and we should have another Army posted somewhere near the Borders of Scotland, to intercept the Rebels, and prevent their entering England, in case they should give the Slip to the Army sent thither against them.

I do admit, Sir, and 'tis with Joy I admit, that a most laudable Spirit has, on this Occasion, appeared among the People, for the Support of the Government, and Defence of their Country: I hope, it is every where sincere; I will not so much as harbour a Thought that it is not: But at the same Time I must suggest, that the Continuance as well as Increase of this Spirit very much depends upon the Measures taken for our Security. If we unite in the most vigorous Measures, this laudable Spirit will continue and increase, which will daily contribute more and

more to our Security; for nothing adds more effectually to the Security of a Government, than a general Belief among the People, that it is secure. But if we disagree, and consequently delay taking vigorous Measures, and in the mean Time a Body of foreign Troops should land, or the Rebels meet with any new Success, it will at least throw a Damp upon that Spirit which now appears in our Favour, it may raise a Spirit against us; and if this should happen, some of the Associations now made for the Support of the Government, might perhaps take the first Opportunity to appear in Arms against it; few of them would venture their Lives and Fortunes for a Government which, they saw, took no proper Measures for its own Support.

I hope, every Gentleman is by this Time convinced, that besides calling over all or most of our Troops from Flanders, it is absolutely necessary to raise some new Regiments; and I am surprized to hear it doubted, that the Method proposed is not the best. That it is the cheapest, I am sure, it is impossible to deny; especially if we consider the extravagant Levy Money now paid for Recruits, and the large Sums that must be paid for Cloaths, Horses, Arms and Accoutrements, if these Regiments were to be raised at the publick Expence. When all these Things are considered, every Gentleman who has a Regard for his King or his Country, must think himself obliged to those noble Peers who have generously undertaken to do all this by their personal Interest, and at their own Expence, or the Expence of those Gentlemen of Fortune whom they shall honour with Commissions in their Regiments; for it is a very ill grounded Insinuation, that they will or can dispose of those Commissions for Money. In regular Regiments Commissions may perhaps be sold for pretty large Sums of Money,

ney, because it is a Provision for Life, besides the Hopes of, and even a Right to Preferment; but it is not to be supposed, that any Man would give Money for being an Officer but for a few Days: No Man would put himself to any Expence merely upon that Account; and therefore we must suppose, that those Gentlemen who accept of Commissions in these new Regiments, do it merely for the Sake of having the Honour to serve their Country in Time of Danger.

It is a Mistake, Sir, to suppose, that the raising new Regiments in this Method can occasion any Discontent among the Officers in our regular Army. These Regiments are to be raised but for 122 Days, they are to be kept up for no longer Time, unless the Parliament should find it necessary, which will not, I hope, happen to be the Case. No Lieutenant-Colonel in any old Regiment would accept of the Command of such a new Regiment; because he could not afterwards serve as a Lieutenant-Colonel, and consequently, after the reducing of these Regiments, he must be reduced to half Pay, and in a Manner dismissed the Army, perhaps for Life; for if a Peace should ensue, as it probably may, soon after the Extinction of the Rebellion, it would be many Years before it could come to the Turn of all these reduced Colonels to be provided with Regiments. The Case would be the same with Regard to the Majors, Captains, and Subalterns of our regular Regiments: All of them, or by far the greatest Part of them, would chuse to remain in the Posts they are now in, rather than be preferred in those new short-lived Regiments. And as to the Crown's leaving the Disposal of the inferior Commissions to the respective Colonels, it was absolutely necessary in the present Case, because each Colonel must have the Assistance of the inferior Officers he appoints for raising and completing his Regiment; and he is the most proper,

may, the only Judge of the Gentlemen whose Interest in the Country will be most effectual for this Purpose. If the Regiments were to be kept standing, it might perhaps be of dangerous Consequence to the Crown to leave the Appointment of the inferior Officers to the respective Colonels; but as these Regiments are to be disbanded, as soon as the Rebellion is at an End, it can, with respect to them, be of no dangerous Consequence, nor can it be a Precedent for any Thing relating to our regular Army; therefore, I hope, those who advised the King to accept of this Offer will not be accused of being unfaithful to their Sovereign, and much less of being Enemies to our happy Constitution, whose Subversion may be prevented, probably, by this Advice, more effectually than it could have been by any other.

The Advocates for this Motion are, I find, Sir, accused of endeavouring to frighten People with chimerical Dangers; but this Charge will, in my Opinion, recoil with more Weight upon those who oppose the Motion, when they endeavour to frighten us with the Danger our Constitution may be exposed to by the Rebellion's being defeated. I shall not say, that these Gentlemen are afraid of the Rebellion's proving unsuccessful; but, I am sure, there is nothing can be more chimerical than to apprehend, that by the Rebellion's being defeated, the Power of the Crown may be too much increased. In this Country, Sir, and by our Constitution, the Crown can acquire no Increase of Power without the Consent of Parliament; and if any Scheme for that Purpose should be brought before us, we may render it abortive, by refusing our Consent. As to the Laws that have been mentioned for securing our Constitution against the Effects of Corruption, I am one of those who think no one of them necessary: On the contrary, I think, it would be of the most dangerous

serious Consequence to our Constitution to establish any one of them; but as to those Gentlemen who think them necessary, surely, if they be true Friends to our present happy Establishment, and Enemies to the present Rebellion, they will not think of introducing any one of them at this dangerous Conjunction. When a Man's House is on Fire, surely he will first endeavour to extinguish the Flames, before he takes Time to think of Methods for preventing any such Accident for the future. If such Laws be necessary, they may be introduced and passed, the very next Session after the Rebellion is extinguished, and the internal Tranquillity of the Kingdom restored. Can any one say, that it will then be more difficult to introduce or pass such Laws than at present? Can any one say, that in the mean Time our Constitution may be subverted? We can be in no Danger from a Twelve-month's Delay in passing such Laws; but by introducing them at present, and thereby raising Differences and Divisions amongst us, we shall give Strength to the Rebellion; and while we are disputing about the Methods for securing our Constitution against Corruption, it may be utterly subverted by the successful Arms of the Rebels and their foreign Associates.

It is, therefore, Sir, not only unnecessary, but would be extremely dangerous to introduce any of these Laws at this terrible Crisis; nor can the Precedent mentioned give any Authority for our so doing. It was not because the Constitution was in Danger from the want of any necessary Law, that the Parliament in Richard the II^d's Reign refused to grant any Money, till the Ministers were removed and punished; but it was the Danger they were in of the Money's being misapplied, and the Nation ruined, if left under the Management of such Ministers, at a Time when it was threatened with such a formidable Invasion. What

the Parliament then did was absolutely necessary, and necessary to be done before they did any Thing else: Irrecoverable Ruin attended a Moment's Delay; and when that was done, they desired nothing else; for they neither introduced nor passed any Law for altering or amending the Constitution. But suppose they had, it could not be made an Argument for, our doing the same now; because our Circumstances are now very different from what they were at that Time. The King had then a settled Revenue sufficient for all the ordinary Exigencies of Government, and was not therefore under a Necessity of having every Year a Session of Parliament. Accordingly, the Parliament never met but upon extraordinary Occasions, or when the King wanted an extraordinary Supply of Money; therefore, if the Parliament had then refused to grant the Supply demanded, till such Laws were passed as they thought necessary for the Preservation of their Liberties, such a Refusal, even in the Time of foreign Danger, would have been right, because they could not know or foresee when they should have such another Opportunity; but our Case is now very different: As the King has not now a settled Revenue sufficient for the annual and necessary Exigencies of Government, nor can keep up any Army without the annual Consent of Parliament, he must every Year have a Session of Parliament; and therefore, in the Time of any extraordinary foreign or domestick Danger, we have no Occasion, and, consequently, ought not to think of any Thing but that of providing against the impending Danger.

Before I have done, Sir, I must return Thanks to an Hon. Gentleman for the Observation he was pleased to recommend to our most serious Consideration. To be sure, it is an Observation that we ought at all Times to have in View; but

I do not think there is any Reason for recommending it particularly at the present Conjunction. No one can say, that the House of *Austria* has of late Years made the least Attempt upon the Liberties of the *Germanick* Body, and much less that we have supported that House in any such Attempt. In the present War, it is well known, that from the Beginning to this very Day, the Queen of *Hungary* has been always upon the Defensive; and that every Attack that has been made upon her was an open Breach, a downright Violation of the Constitution of the *German* Empire. It is, indeed, impossible to think otherwise; for it would be a very odd, and I am sure, a very defective Constitution of Government, if any Member of the Society were allowed to attack another with an armed Force, without so much as applying to any Tribunal for having his Cause heard and determined by the Laws of the Society. Such a Defect cannot reasonably be supposed in the Constitution of any Government, and as little in that of the *German* Empire as any other; for it is well known, that nothing is more explicitly guarded against, both by the *Golden Bull* and the fundamental Constitutions of the Empire; therefore, whatever Assistance we have given to the Queen of *Hungary* in this War, must be allowed to have been given in Defence of the Constitution and Liberties of the *Germanick* Body; and as the Tranquillity of the Empire is now restored, the Liberties of *Germany* can have nothing to do with any Assistance we have given, or may hereafter give her against *France* and *Spain*.

It was, therefore, very unnecessary, Sir, to give us at present any Caution with Regard to the Liberties of *Germany*; and it is still more unnecessary, it is, I think, very imprudent, not to call it by any worse name, in our present Situation, to endeavour to raise groundless Jealousies

with Regard to the Safety of our Liberties under our present happy Establishment. If any new Powers had been desired; if any new Laws had been proposed for increasing the Prerogatives of the Crown, there might have been some Room for such a Caution; but his Majesty is so far from desiring any such Thing, that even those who oppose this Motion complain of his giving up Part of his Prerogative, in Favour of those Noblemen who have offered to raise Regiments for the publick Service upon this dangerous Emergency. If Gentlemen have any Fears about the Danger our Constitution and Liberties may hereafter be exposed to by Means of Corruption, or by Means of any too extensive Prerogative now vested in the Crown, they should suspend all those Fears, at least, I hope, they will suspend mentioning them, till the Rebellion be once totally extinguished. Till then we should exclude from our Minds the Fear of every Danger, but that which may proceed from the Rebellion's being successful; for no other Fear can serve for any Thing but to distract and disunite us, which at this Conjunction might be attended with the most fatal Consequences. This Consideration, above all others, ought to prevail with Gentlemen to agree to what is now proposed: His Majesty thinks the raising of more Troops absolutely necessary; and after considering all the Schemes that have been offered for that Purpose, he thinks, that the Method of raising them now proposed to you, will be the most expeditious, and the least expensive: I hope, Gentlemen will consider, that Unanimity in both Houses of Parliament, and a ready Concurrence in every Measure proposed by their Sovereign, will contribute more effectually than any Thing else, towards disheartening those that have already rebelled, towards discouraging our foreign Enemies from sending them any Assistance.

tance, and towards preventing any more of the People from joining in the Rebellion. When Gentlemen consider this, I hope, they will give over their Opposition, and unanimously join with me in approving this Motion.

[This DEBATE to be concluded, and the JOURNAL continued, in our next.]

To the AUTHOR, &c.

S I R, Kensington, August 20, 1746.

IN Times of such imminent Danger and publick Distress as we have so lately been exposed to, and such treacherous Attempts to have dethron'd our gracious Sovereign, and totally subverted our happy Constitution; it not only became the immediate Duty, but the real Interest of all honest Men to rouse up against such bold and desperate Invaders, and exert themselves in support of their Loyalty, and Principles to the utmost of their Power and Abilities.

In such a Crisis of general Calamity, those who were meanly inactive in Favour of their King and Country, by not giving every Proof within their Power, in the most lively Manner, were in Effect passively against both, and deserv'd not the Name of *Englishmen* or *Britons*. But indeed it was our peculiar Happiness to observe, that almost every Rank and Degree of People did stand forth in Defence of their lawful Prince and the true Protestant Cause.

It was on these Principles, that when the Rebellion was by large Strides rushing forward on us, I frequently published my sincere Sentiments, in order to excite others to a like Sense of their Duty and Danger, and above all Things to enforce on their Minds the direful Effects this most hateful Rebellion carried with it in its very Infancy; and, consequently, the Train of *Papish* Cruelties and Bloodshed it must have instantly been productive of (against the whole Body of Protestants) had the Progress of those ungrateful Monsters gain'd further Footing amongst us.

Happy is it for *Britons*! Happy, I hope, for our Posterity! their wicked Progress is now stop'd, and Providence has deliver'd some of the principal Conspirators into the Hands of Justice: Conspirators! who enjoy'd their Property, their Principles, their Freedom unmolested, under a mild and most auspicious Prince, from whom they receiv'd no Provocation, no Hardships, no Tyranny, no Oppression, or paid one Mite more to *Cæsar* than was *Cæsar's* Due, in Right with

September, 1746

the rest of their Fellow *Britons*. On the contrary, many of them ow'd their Lives to *Cæsar's* Royal Father, and long participated the generous and bountiful Provisions of their present Prince's Favour, whom they thus so ungratefully rebell'd against. On Account therefore of their Progress being defeated, we owe the most dutiful Acknowledgments to Heaven, the most loyal Attachment to his Majesty, and the most grateful Congratulations to his Royal Highness the Duke, for the Success of his Majesty's Arms at the Battle of *Culloden*, at the Risk of a Life so valuable and precious to every true *Briton*.

We have Reason to hope, that his Royal Highness has effectually suppress'd and banish'd every wicked Design against his Royal Father, and our happy Constitution both in Church and State; whose very Existence depends, under Heaven, wholly on the Protestant Succession, as establish'd in the present Royal Family: Nor have we any Reason to doubt that the Parliament (the great Guardian of our National Rights and Liberties) will go on, as they have so prudently begun, to secure us by wholesome Laws from any such dangerous and diabolical Attempts for the future.

And as nothing has more strongly contributed to this bold and daring Enterprize of our foreign and domestick Enemies, than the secret Intelligence and wicked Intrigues of *Jesuits* and *Romish Priests*, and their numerous Train of unhappy deluded Bigots and Profelytes, with which every Part and Place of this Nation so notoriously abounds, I am therefore led to hope, that some new Method, from the Wisdom of our Legislature, may speedily be struck out, so as to check the growing Power and Progress of these People, and to prevent their breaking in upon us by Shoals on board almost every Vessel that arrives from the *European* Continent, in the Manner and under the Disguises they have hitherto done. This I most sincerely wish, for the future Safety and Prosperity of *Great Britain*: For God alone knows what Mischiefs and Confusions may yet, sooner or later, ensue, unless such *Romish* Rebels as now pointed out, (for I mean no others in particular but *Priests* and *Jesuits*) are strictly guarded against, and prevented from herding amongst us.

Yours, &c.

A Protestant Volunteer.

G To his most Excellent Majesty GEORGE the Second, King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble ADDRESS of the PASTORS of the CHURCHES in his Majesty's Province of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY

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in

452 New England and Devonshire ADDRESSES:

in New-England, assembled in Boston at their Annual Convention, May 28, 1746.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Pastors of the Churches in the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England*, beg Leave to take this first Opportunity to express our utmost Detestation of the unnatural, wicked, and traiterous Rebellion, rais'd in *Great Britain*, and abetted by the grand Supporters of the Papal Interest, against your Majesty's Royal Person and Crown, in Favour of an abjured Pretender, train'd up in the Bigotry and Tyranny of the *Romish* Principles and Practices, utterly destructive to all true Religion and Liberty; and to assure your Majesty, that as in the Days of your Royal Father, so in the present Day we know not a single Man belonging to any of our Assemblies, but what is firmly attached to your Royal Person and Illustrious House. —At the same Time we congratulate your Majesty upon the Success of your Arms, under the Conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke, against the insatuated Men, whom Heaven indeed has righteously made a Scourge to the *British* Nations, while yet, they are but the vile and contemptible Tools of *France* and *Spain*. And in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we make it our fervent Prayer to the Supreme Ruler of the World, that all the Enemies to your Majesty, and the Protestant Succession in your Royal House, may be clothed with perpetual Shame.

We beg leave also joyfully to congratulate your Majesty upon the wonderful Success God has given to your *American* Forces, in the Reduction of that important Key of *North America*, *Cape Breton*, to your Majesty's Government; which we can't but hope and trust in God, shall never be wrested out of your Royal Hands.

We cheerfully rely on your Majesty's Royal Goodness, under God, still to protect us and our Churches, in the Possession of our invaluable Rights; and that our Province, which have so signaliz'd their Loyalty, shall always find Favour in the Eyes of our Gracious King, while we constantly present our hearty Prayers to Almighty God, for the long Prosperity of your Majesty's Reign, and the Continuance of your Crown in your Royal Family, throughout all Generations.

Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment of the said Pastors.

JOSEPH SEWALL, Moderator.

To the KING's most excellent MAJESTY.

The humble ADDRESS of the HIGH SHERIFF and GRAND JURY of the County of

DEVON, assembled at the Assize the 22^d Day of August, 1746.

WE beg Leave humbly to congratulate your Majesty on the Suppression of the late unnatural and detestable Rebellion, by the Blessing of God, and by the Bravery of your Troops, under the Command of that great General his Royal Highness the Duke: Who with the Prudence and Conduct of experienced Age, inspired them with Confidence of Victory; and with all the Courage of Youth, (hereditary from his illustrious Birth) taught them by his Example how to conquer.

Though the Distance of our Situation secured us from Rapine and Plunder, yet the Stagnation of Trade, the Want of Credit, but above all the Terrors of Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power, gave us the greatest Anxiety. To change the Blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's mild Government, for such Misery, were to a brave People worse than Death.

What then can we think of those Protestants, who joined in this wicked Attempt, when even the Papists must repent the Change of their present too great Indulgence for a *French* Government and despotick Tyranny?

What can we think of those, whom neither his late Majesty's Mercy after the late Rebellion, his gentle Reign, and your Majesty's auspicious and happy Government in a Course of above 30 Years, can reclaim from those absurd and wicked Principles, which have again induced them to disturb the Peace of the happiest and most flourishing Nation of *Europe*, in the fullest Enjoyment of civil and religious Liberties?

What these were endeavouring to destroy, we are determined to defend with our Lives and Fortunes, by supporting, to the utmost of our Power, your Majesty and your Royal Family, under whom alone it is possible for us to enjoy such inestimable Blessings.

As many of our Politicians, both in Conversation and in publick Papers, have taken upon them to prescribe Methods in which the Government should proceed towards those concern'd in the late unnatural and unprovok'd Rebellion; some extolling Mercy to the Exclusion of Justice, and others Justice to the Exclusion of Mercy; we think nothing can set an Affair of this Nature in a better Light, than the *FREEHOLDER*, N^o XXX. wrote by the famous Mr. ADDISON, in Answer to a Pamphlet publish'd soon after the Rebellion in 1715. We shall therefore give our Readers the Substance of it, with some short Notes of our own.

I Have purposely avoided, during the whole Course of this Paper, to speak any Thing concerning the Treatment which is due to such Persons as have been concerned in the late Rebellion, because I would not seem to irritate Justice against those who are under the Prosecution of the Law; nor incense any of my Readers against unhappy, tho' guilty Men. But when we find the Proceedings of our Government in this Particular, traduced and misrepresented, it is the Duty of every good Subject to set them in their proper Light.

I am the more prompted to this Undertaking by a Pamphlet, entitled, *An Argument to prove the Affections of the People of England to be the best Security of the Government, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Patrons of Severity, and applied to the present Juncture of Affairs.* Had the whole Scope of the Author been answerable to his Title, he would have only undertaken to prove what every Man in his Wits is already convinced of. But the Drift of the Pamphlet is to stir up our Compassion towards the Rebels, and our Indignation against the Government. The Author, who knew that such a Design as this could not be carried on without a great deal of Artifice, and Sophistry, has puzzled and perplexed his Cause, by throwing his Thoughts together in such a studied Confusion, that upon this Account, if upon any, his Pamphlet is, as the Party have represented it, unanswerable.

The famous M. Bayle compares the answering of an immethodical Author to the hunting of a Duck: When you have him full in your Sight, and fancy yourself within reach of him, he gives you the Slip, and becomes invisible. His Argument is lost in such a Variety of Matter, that you must catch at it where you can, as it rises and disappears in the several Parts of his Discourse.

The Writer of this Pamphlet could, doubtless, have ranged his Thoughts in much better Order, if he had pleased; but he knew well, that Error is not to be advanced by perspicuity. In order therefore to answer this Pamphlet, I must reduce the Substance of it under proper Heads, and disembroil the Thoughts of the Author, since he did not think fit to do it himself.

In the first Place I shall observe, that the Terms, which the Author makes use of, are loose, general, and undefined; and, what less becomes a fair Reasoner, he puts wrong and invidious Names on every Thing, to colour a false Way of arguing. He allows, that the Rebels indisputably merit to be severely chastiz'd; that they deserve it according to Law; and that if they are punished, they

have none to thank but themselves. How can a Man, after such a Confession, make use sometimes of the Word Cruelty, but generally of Revenge, when he pleads against the Exercise of what, according to his own Notion, is at most but rigid Justice? Or why are such Executions, which according to his own Opinion, are legal, so often to be called *Violences* and *Slaughters*? Not to mention the Appellations given to those who do not agree with him in his Opinion for Clemency; as, the *Blood-thirsty*, the *Political Butchers*, *State Chirurgeons*, and the like.

But I shall now speak of that Point, which is the great and reigning Fallacy of the Pamphlet, and runs more or less thro' every Paragraph. His whole Argument turns upon this single Consideration: Whether the King should exert Mercy, or Justice, towards those who have openly appeared in the present Rebellion? By Mercy, he means a general Pardon; by Justice, a general Punishment: So that he supposes no other Method practicable in this Juncture, than either the forgiving all, or the executing all. Thus he puts the Question, *Whether it be the Interest of the Prince to destroy the Rebels by Fire, Sword or Gibbet?* And speaking of the Zealots for the Government, he tells us, *They think no Remedy so good as to make clear Work; and that they declare for the utter Extirpation of all who are its Enemies in the most minute Circumstances: As if Amputation were the sole Remedy these political Butchers could find out for the Desampers of a State; or that they thought the only Way to make the Top flourish, was to lop off the under Branches.* He then speaks of the *Coffee-House Politicians*, and the *Casuits in red Coats*; who, he tells us, are for the utmost Rigour that their *Laws of War*, or *Laws of Convenience*, can inspire them with. Again, it is represented, says he, that the Rebels deserve the highest Punishment the Laws can inflict: And afterwards tell us, the Question is, *whether the Government shall shew Mercy, or take a Reverend Divine's Advice, to slay Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling?* Thus again he tells us, *The Friends to severe Counsels alledge, that the Government ought not to be moved by Compassion: And that the Law should have its Course.* And in another Place puts these Words in their Mouths: *He may still retain their Affection, and yet let the Laws have their Course in punishing the Guilty.* He goes upon the same Supposition in the following Passages: *It is impracticable in so general a Corruption, to destroy All who are infected: And unless you destroy All, you do nothing to the Purpose. Shall our rightful King shew himself less the true Father of his People, and afford his Pardon to None of those People, who (like King Lear to his*

Daughters) had so great a Confidence in his Virtus, as to give him All? I shall only add, that the concluding Paragraph, which is worked up with so much artificial Horror, goes upon a Supposition answerable to the whole Tenor of the Pamphlet; and implies, that the *impeached Lords* were to be executed without Exception, or Discrimination.

Thus, we see what is the Author's Idea of that Justice, against which all his Arguments are levelled. If, in the next Place, we consider the Nature of that Clemency, which he recommends, we find it to be no less universal and unrestrained.

He declares for a *General Act of Indemnity*, and tells us, *It is the Sense of every dispassionate Man of the Kingdom, that the Rebels may, and ought to be pardoned. One popular Act*, says he, *would even yet retrieve all*: He declares himself not overfond of the *Doctrine of making Examples of Traitors*; and that *the Way to prevent Things from being brought to an Extremity, is to deal mildly with those unfortunate Gentlemen engaged in the Rebellion*.

The Reader may now see in how fallacious a Manner this Writer has stated the Controversy: He supposes there are but two Methods of treating the Rebels, that is, by cutting off every one of them to a Man, or pardoning every one of them without Distinction. Now, if there be a third Method between these two Extremes, which is on all Accounts more eligible than either of them; it is certain, that the whole Course of his Argumentation comes to nothing. Every Man of the plainest Understanding will easily conceive, that in the Case before us, as in most others, we ought to avoid both Extremes: That to destroy every Rebel would be an excessive Cruelty, and to forgive every one of them an unreasonable Weakness. The proper Method of proceeding, is that which the Author has purposely omitted: Namely, to temper Justice with Mercy: And according to the different Circumstances that aggravate or alleviate the Guilt of the Offenders, to restrain the Force of the Laws, or to let them take their proper Course. Punishments are necessary to shew there is Justice in a Government, and Pardons, to shew there is Mercy; and both together, convince the People, that our Constitution, under a good Administration, does not only make a Difference between the Guilty and the Innocent, but even among the Guilty, between such as are more or less criminal.

This middle Method, which has been always practised by wise and good Governors, has hitherto been made use of by our Sovereign. If, indeed, a Stranger, and

one who is altogether unacquainted with his Majesty's Conduct, should read this Pamphlet, he would conclude, that every Person engaged in the Rebellion was to die by the Sword, the Halter, or the Axe; nay, that their Friends and Abettors were involved in the same Fate. Would it be possible for him to imagine, that of the several Thousands openly taken in Arms, and liable to Death by the Laws of their Country, not above forty have yet suffered? How would he be surprized to hear, that notwithstanding his Majesty's Troops have been victorious in every Engagement, more of his Friends have lost their Lives in this Rebellion, than of his traitorous Subjects; tho' we add to those who died by the Hand of Justice, those of them who fell in Battle? And we find a more popular Compassion endeavoured to be raised for the Deaths of the Guilty, who have brought such Calamities on their Country, than for the Innocent, who perished in the Defence of it.

This middle Method of Proceeding, which has been pursued by his Majesty, and is wilfully over-looked by the Author, best answers the Ends of Government, which is to maintain the Safety of the Publick by Rewards and Punishments. It is also incumbent on a Governor, according to the received Dictates of Religion; which instructs us, *That he beareth not the Sword in vain; but ought to be a Terror to evil Doers, and a Praise to them that do well*. It is likewise, in a particular Manner, the Duty of a *British King*, who obliges himself by his Coronation Oath, to execute *Justice in Mercy*, that is, to mix them in his Administration, and not to exercise either of them to the total Exclusion of the other.

But if we consider the Arguments which this Author gives for Clemency, from the good Effects it would produce, we shall find, that they hold true only when applied to such a Mercy as serves rather to mitigate than exclude Justice. The Excellence of that unlimited Clemency which the Author contends for, is recommended by the following Arguments.

First, That it endears a Prince to his People. This he descants on in several Parts of his Book: *Clemency will endear his Person to the Nation; and then they will neither have the Power nor Will to disturb him. Was there ever a cruel Prince that was not hated by his Subjects? A merciful, good-natur'd Disposition is of all others the most amiable Quality, and in Princes always attended with a popular Love*.

It is certain, that such a popular Love will always rise towards a good Prince, who exercises such a Mercy as I have before described, which is consistent with the Safety of the Constitution, and the Good of his

his Kingdom. But if it be thrown away at Random, it loses its Virtue, lessens the Esteem and Authority of a Prince, and cannot long recommend him, even to the weakest of his Subjects, who will find all the Effects of Cruelty in such an ill grounded Compassion. It was a famous Saying of William Rufus, and is quoted to his Honour by Historians: 'Whosoever spares perjured Men, Robbers, Plunderers, and Traitors, deprives all good Men of their Peace and Quietness, and lays a Foundation of innumerable Mischiefs to the Virtuous and Innocent.'

Another Argument for unlimited Clemency, is, that it shews a courageous Temper: Clemency is likewise an Argument of Fearlessness; whereas Cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, depraved Spirit, but also is for the most Part a certain Sign of Cowardice. He had a truly great Soul, and such will always disdain the Coward's Virtue, which is Fear; and the Consequence of it, which is Revenge. This Panegyrick on Clemency, when it is governed by Reason, is likewise very bright; but it may so happen, that the putting of Laws in Execution against Traitors to their Country, may be the Argument of Fearlessness, when our Governors are told, that they dare not do it*; and such Methods may be made use of to extort Pardons, as would make it look like Cowardice to grant them. In this last Case, the Author should have remembered his own Words, that then only Mercy is meritorious, when it is voluntary, and not extorted by the Necessity of Affairs. Besides, the Author should have considered, that another Argument which he makes use of for his Clemency, are the Resentments that may arise from the Execution of a Rebel: An Argument adapted to a cowardly, not a fearless Temper. This he infers from the Disposition of the Friends, Well-wishers, or Associates of the Sufferers. Resentment will inflame some; in others Compassion will, by Degrees, rise into Resentment. This will naturally beget a Disposition to overturn what they dislike, and then there will want only a fair Opportunity. This Argument, like most of the others, pleads equally for Malefactors of all Kinds, whom the Government can never bring to Justice, without disobliging their Friends, Well-wishers, or Associates of these Sufferers: He would find them rather deterred from their Practices by their Sufferings, than disposed to rise in a new Rebellion to revenge them. A Government must be in a

very weak and melancholy Condition, that is not armed with a sufficient Power for its own Defence against the Resentment of its Enemies, and is afraid of being overturned if it does Justice on those who attempt it. But I am afraid the main Reason, why these Friends, Well-wishers, and Associates, are against punishing any of the Rebels, is that which must be an Argument with every wise Governor for doing Justice upon some of them; namely, that it is a likely Means to come at the Bottom of this Conspiracy, and to detect those who have been the private Abettors of it, and who are still at work in the same Design; if we give Credit to the Suggestions of our Malecontents themselves, who labour to make us believe that there is still Life in this wicked Project.

I am wonderfully surprized to see another Argument made use of for a general Pardon, which might have been urged more properly for a general Execution. The Words are these: *The Generality will never be brought to believe, but that those who suffer for Treason have very hard Measure, nor can you with all your Severity undeceive them of their Error.* If the Generality of the English have such a favourable Opinion of Treason, nothing can so well cure them of an Error so fatal to their Country, as the Punishment of those who are guilty of it. It is evident, that a general Impunity would confirm them in such an Opinion: For the Vulgar will never be brought to believe, that there is a Crime where they see no Penalty.—The Way to awaken Mens Minds to the Sense of this Guilt, is to let them see, by the Sufferings of some who have incur'd it, how heinous a Crime it is in the Eye of the Law.

The foregoing Answer may be applied to another Argument of the same Nature: *If the Faction be as numerous as is pretended; if the Spirit has spread itself over the whole Kingdom; if it has mixed with the Mass of the People, then certainly all bloody Measures will but whet Men the more for Revenge.* If Justice inflicted on a few of the flagrant Criminals, with Mercy extended to the Multitude, may be called bloody Measures, they are, without Doubt, absolutely necessary, in case the Spirit of Faction be thus spread among the Mass of the People†, who will readily conclude, that if open Rebellion goes unpunished, every Degree of Faction which leads to it, must be altogether innocent.

* This was the common Talk of the Friends of the Rebels, before the Execution of the Lords Derwentwater and Kenmare; but, thank God! they were so far dispirited by his Royal Highness's late glorious Victory, that they did not think fit to open their Mouths so now. † This was the Case at the Time of the Rebellion in 1715, when the factious Spirit raised by Sacheverell, and the Clamour of the Danger of the Church had not yet subsided, and great Part of the Clergy were

I am now come to another Argument for pardoning all the Rebels, which is, that it would inspire them all with Gratitude, and reduce them to their Allegiance. — *Are there not infinite Numbers who would become most dutiful upon any fair Invitation, upon the least Appearance of Grace? Which of the Rebels could be ungrateful enough to resist or abuse Goodness exemplified in Practice, as well as extolled in Theory?* Has not his Majesty then shewn the last Appearance of Grace in that generous Forgiveness which he has already extended to such great Numbers of his rebellious Subjects, who must have died by the Laws of their Country, had not his Mercy interposed in their Behalf? But if the Author means (as he doth thro' this whole Pamphlet, by the like Expressions) an universal Forgiveness, no unprejudiced Man can be of his Opinion, that it would have had this good Effect. We may see how little the Conversion of Rebels is to be depended on, when we observe, that several of the Leaders in this Rebellion were Men who had been pardoned for Practices of the same Nature*: And that most of those who have suffered, have avowed their Perseverance in their rebellious Principles, when they spoke their Minds at the Place of Execution†, notwithstanding their Professions to the contrary while they solicited Forgiveness. Besides, were Pardon extended indifferently to all, which of them would think himself under any particular Obligation? Whereas, by that prudent Discrimination, which his Majesty has made between the Offenders of different Degrees, he naturally obliges those whom he has considered with so much Tenderness, and distinguished as the most proper Objects of Mercy.

I shall mention another Argument against the Punishment of any of the Rebels, whose Executions he represents as very shocking to the People, because they are their Countrymen, because they are Englishmen, &c. and puts us in mind of the Quality of the Sufferers. The impeached Lords likewise are recommended to our Pity, because they are our Countrymen. By this Way of Reasoning, no Man that is a Gentleman, or born within the three Seas, should be subject to capital Punishment. Besides, who can be guilty of Rebellion that are not our Countrymen? As for the endearing Name of Englishmen, which he bestows upon every one of the Criminals,

he should consider, that a Man deservedly cuts himself off from the Affections, as well as the Privileges of that Community, which he endeavours to subvert.

There is another Set of Arguments derived from the Authority and Example of great Persons, which the Author produces in favour of his own Scheme. These are *William the Conqueror, Henry IV. of France, our late King William, King Solomon, and the Pretender.* If a Man were disposed to draw Arguments for Severity out of History, how many Instances might one find of it, among the greatest Princes of every Nation? But as different Princes may act very laudably by different Methods in different Conjunctions, I cannot think this a conclusive Way of Reasoning. However, let us examine this Set of Arguments, and we shall find them no less defective than those above-mentioned.

One of the greatest of our English Monarchs, says our Author, was William the Conqueror; and he was the greater, because he put to Death only one Person of Quality that we read of, and him after repeated Treacheries: Yet he was a Foreigner, had Power sufficient, and did not want Provocations to have been more bloody. This Person of Quality was the Earl Waltheof, who being overtaken with Wine, engaged in a Conspiracy against this Monarch; but repenting of it the next Morning, repaired to the King, who was then in Normandy, and discovered the whole Matter. Notwithstanding which he was beheaded on the Defeat of the Conspiracy, for having but thus far tampered in it. And as for the rest of the Conspirators, who rose in an actual Rebellion, the King used them with the utmost Rigour; he cut off the Hands of some, put out the Eyes of others, some were hanged upon Gibbets, and those who spared the best, were sent into Banishment. There are indeed the most dreadful Examples of Severity in this Reign; tho' it must be confessed, that after the Manner of those Times, the Nobility generally escaped with their Lives, tho' Multitudes of them were punished with Banishment, perpetual Imprisonment, Forfeitures, and other great Severities; while the poor People, who had been deluded by these their Ringleaders, were executed with the utmost Rigour. A Partiality, which, I believe, no Commoner of England will ever think to be either just or reasonable.

were tainted with Jacobite Principles, with which they poisoned the Minds of the People: But in the last Rebellion it was quite otherwise, the Clergy in general expressing the greatest Loyalty, and all Ranks of People in England, from the highest to the lowest, being most zealously attached to our present happy Establishment, and shewing the utmost Abhorrence of the Pretender and his Adherents. * This was also the Case in the last Rebellion. † At the Manchester Rebels, lately executed, did. See p. 392, 393.

The next Instance is *Henry IV. of France*, who (says our Author) so handsomely expressed his Tenderneſs for his People, when at ſigning the Treaty of Vervins, he ſaid, That by one Daſh of his Pen, he had overcome more Enemies than he could ever be able to do with his Sword. Would not an ordinary Reader think, that this Treaty of Vervins was a Treaty between *Henry IV.* and a Party of his Subjects? For otherwiſe how can it have a Place in the preſent Argument? But inſtead of that, it was a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; ſo that the Speech expreſſed an equal Tenderneſs to the *Spaniards* and *French*; as Multitudes of either Nation muſt have fallen in that War, had it continued longer. As for this King's Treatment of Conſpirators, (tho' he is quoted thrice in the Pamphlet as an Example of Clemency) you have a very eminent Inſtance of it in his Behaviour to the *Marſhal de Biron*, who had been his old faithful Servant, and had contributed more than any one to his Advancement to the Throne. This Marſhal, upon ſome Diſcontent, was entered into a Conſpiracy againſt his Maſter, and reſuſing to open the whole Secret to the King, he was ſent to the *Baſtile*, and there beheaded, notwithſtanding he fought for Mercy with great Importunities, and in the moſt moving Manner. There are other Inſtances in this King's Reign, who notwithſtanding was remarkable for his Clemency, of Rebels and Conſpirators who were hanged, beheaded, or broken alive on the Wheel.

The late King *William* was not diſturbed by any Rebellion from thoſe who had once ſubmitted to him. But we know he treated the Perſons concerned in the *Aſſaſination-Plot*, as ſo horrid a Conſpiracy deſerved.

The Author proceeds in the next Place to no leſs an Authority, than that of *Solomon*: Among all the general Obſervations of the wiſeſt Prince we know of, I think there is none holds more univerſally, than, *Mercy and Truth preſerve a King, and his Throne is eſtabliſhed in Mercy*. If we compare the different Sayings of this wiſe King, which relate to the Conduct of Princes, we cannot queſtion but that he means by this Mercy, that Kind of it, which is conſiſtent with Reaſon and Government, and by which we hope to ſee his Maſteſty's Throne eſta-bliſhed. But our Author ſhould conſider, that the ſame wiſe Man has ſaid in another Place, that, *An evil Man ſeeketh Rebellion, therefore a cruel Meſſenger ſhall be ſent againſt him*. Accordingly, his Practice was agreeable to his Proverb; no Prince having ever given a greater Teſtimony of his Abhorrence to Undertakings of this treaſonable Nature. For he diſpatched ſuch a cruel Meſſenger as is here mentioned, to thoſe

who had been engaged in a Rebellion many Years before he himſelf was on the Throne, and even to his elder Brother, upon the bare Suſpicion that he was projecting ſo wicked an Enterprize.

How the Example of the Pretender came into this Argument, I am at a Loſs to find out. The Pretender declared a general Pardon to All: And ſhall our rightful King ſhew himſelf leſs the true Father of his People, and afford his Pardon to none, &c. The Pretender's general Pardon was to a People who were not in his Power, and had he ever reduced them under it, it was only promiſed to ſuch as immediately joined with him, for what he called the Recovery of his Right. It was ſuch a general Pardon, as would have been conſiſtent with the Execution of more than nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom *.

There is but one more historical Argument, which is drawn from King *Philip's* Treatment of the *Catalans*. How many Declamations, ſays he, were made on the Barbarity uſed towards them by *K. Philip*, &c. If the Author remembers, theſe Declamations, as he calls them, were not made ſo much on the Barbarity uſed towards them by *K. Philip*, as on the Barbarity uſed towards them by the *Engliſh* Government. *K. Philip* might have ſome Colour for treating them as Rebels, but we ought to have regarded them as Allies; and were obliged by all the Ties of Honour, Conſcience, and publick Faith, to have ſhelter'd them from thoſe Sufferings, which were brought upon them by a firm and inviolable Adherence to our Intereſt. However, none can draw into a Parallel the Cruelties which have been inflicted on that unhappy People, with thoſe Inſtances of Severity, which our Government has been obliged to exert towards the *Britiſh* Rebels. I ſay, no Man would make ſuch a Parallel, unleſs his Mind be ſo blinded with Paſſion and Prejudice, as to aſſert, in the Language of this Pamphlet, That no Inſtances can be produced of the leaſt Lenity under the preſent Adminiſtration, from the firſt Hour it commenced to this Day; with other aſtoniſhing Reflections of the ſame Nature, which are contradicted by ſuch innumerable Matters of Faſt, that it would be an Affront to a Reader's Underſtanding to endeavour to confute them. But to return to the *Catalans*: During the whole Courſe of the War, ſays the Author, which ever of them ſubmitted at Diſcretion, were receiv'd to Mercy. This is ſo far from being truly related, that in the Beginning of the War, they were executed without Mercy. But when in Conjunction with their Allies, they became ſuperior to *K. Philip's* Party in Strength, and extended their Conqueſts up to the very Gates of *Madrid*; it cannot be ſuppoſed

* This was juſt the Caſe of the Pretender's Declaration in the laſt Rebellion.

supposed the *Spanish* Court would be so infatuated, as to persist in their first Severities, against an Enemy that could make such terrible Reprisals. However, when this Reason of State ceased, how dreadful was the Havock made among this brave, but unhappy People! The whole Kingdom, without any Distinction to the many Thousands of its innocent Inhabitants, was stript of its Immunities, and reduced to a State of Slavery. *Barcelona* was filled with Executions, and all the Patriots of their antient Liberties, either beheaded, stowed in Dungeons, or condemned to work in the Mines of *America*.

God be thanked, we have a King who punishes with Reluctancy, and is averse to such Cruelties as were used among the *Catalans*, as much as to those practised on the Persons concern'd in *Monmouth's* Rebellion. Our Author indeed condemns these Western Affizes in *K. James's* Reign. And it would be well, if all those who still adhere to the Cause of that unfortunate King, and are clamorous at the Proceedings of his present Majesty, would remember, that notwithstanding that Rebellion fell very much short of this both in the Number and Strength of the Rebels, and had no Tendency either to destroy the National Religion, to introduce an arbitrary Government, or to subject us to a foreign Power; not only the Chief of the Rebels was beheaded, but even a Lady*, who had only harboured one of the Offenders in her House, was in her extreme old Age put to the same Kind of Death: That about 230 were hanged, drawn and quartered, and their Limbs dispersed thro' several Parts of the Country, and set up as Spectacles of Terror to their Fellow Subjects. It would be too tedious a Work to run thro' the numberless Fines, Imprisonments, corporal Punishments, and Transportations, which were then likewise practised as wholesome Severities.

We have now seen how fallaciously the Author has stated the Cause he has undertaken, by supposing that nothing but unlimited Mercy, or unlimited Punishment, are the Methods that can be made use of in our present Treatment of the Rebels: That he has omitted the middle Way of Proceeding between these two Extremes: That this middle Way is the Method in which his Majesty, like all other wise and good Kings, has chosen to proceed: That it is agreeable to the Nature of Government, Religion, and our *British* Constitution: And that every Argument, which the Author has produced from Reason and Example, would have been a true one, had it been urged for that restrained Clemency

which his Majesty has exercised: But it is a false one, when applied to such a general undistinguishing Mercy as the Author would recommend.

The Author asks, *Whether Terror is to become the only national Principle?* With other Questions of the same Nature: And in several Parts of his Book, harangues very plentifully against such a Notion: Where he talks in Generals upon this Topic, there is no Question, but every *Whig* and *Tory* in the Kingdom, perfectly agrees with him in what he says. But, if he would insinuate, as he seems to do in several Places, that there should be no Impressions of Awe upon the Mind of a Subject, and that a Government should not create Terror in those who are disposed to do ill, as well as encourage those that do their Duty; in short, if he is for an entire Exclusion of that Principle of Fear, which is supposed to have some Influence in every Law, he opposes himself to the Form of every Government in the World, and to the common Sense of Mankind.

I have now examined this Pamphlet, which indeed is written with a great deal of Art, and as much Argument as the Cause would bear: And after having stated the true Notion of Clemency, Mercy, Compassion, Good Nature, Humanity, or whatever else it may be called, so far as it is consistent with Wisdom, and the Good of Mankind, or, in other Words, so far as it is a moral Virtue, I shall readily concur with the Author in the highest Panegyrics that he has bestowed upon it. As likewise, I heartily join with him in every Thing he has said against Justice, if it includes, as his Pamphlet supposes, the Extirpation of every Criminal, and is not exercised with a much greater Mixture of Clemency than Rigour. Mercy, in the true Sense of the Word, is that Virtue by which a Prince approaches nearest to him, whom he represents: And whilst he is neither remiss nor extream to animadvert upon those who offend him, that Logick will hold true to him, which is applied to the great Judge of all the Earth: *With thee there is Mercy, therefore shalt thou be feared.*

ABSTRACT of the Secret HISTORY of WILLIAM MURRAY, of *Brighton*, Esq; late Secretary to the YOUNG PRETENDER, and now a Prisoner in the Tower.

MR. Murray of *Brighton*, who lived very obscurely till of late, is descended of the House of *Arkel*, and sprung

* The Lady Lisle.

Immediately from the Branch of *Auchtermuchty*. His Estate lies in the West of Scotland, and his Rent-Roll may amount to between 1600 and 2000*l.* a Year.

He had a liberal Education: But his Geni-
us seem'd rather turn'd for Languages
than Sciences; and accordingly he acquired
a tolerable Notion of *Greek* and *Latin*, and
soon became Master of *French* and *Italian*.

After he had attended the Law Classes
for two or three Sessions, he made the Tour
of *Europe*, under Mr. A——r S——r, a
Gentleman of great Learning and Ca-
pacity, perfectly acquainted with Men, as
well as Books; one who had travelled with
several young Noblemen, and, by that
Means, very well versed in the Manners
and Customs of the several Courts of *Eu-
rope*: But amongst all the Tutor's good
Qualities, he had one very bad one; he
was a violent *Jacobite*, and a bigotted high-
fown Episcopalian.

Mr. Murray had not as yet troubled
his Head much about Politicks, and less
about Religion; he was indeed bred up
in the Doctrine of the Church of *Eng-
land*; that is, he did not go to the Estab-
lished Church of *Scotland*; and when-
ever he was disposed to attend Divine Ser-
vice, he went to an Episcopal Meeting,
purely because his Parents had used him
to it.

This early Prejudice against the 'Esa-
blished Kirk of *Scotland* might have this
Effect, to instil into his Mind some early
Notions of *Jacobitism*; for in *Scotland* to be
of the Church of *England*, and a *Jacobite*,
are almost Terms synonymous; as not one
in ten of the Episcopal Clergy take the
Oaths, or pray by Name for his Majesty;
they pray indeed for the King, and the
Royal Family; but in such equivocal Terms,
that it's easy to observe, they mean some
other Family, than that illustrious Family
which now fills the Throne. To these
Words, *May he overcome all his Enemies*,
they add the Particle, YET: *May he yet
overcome all his Enemies*; placing upon the
Particle yet a strong Emphasis; so that
none of their Audience can be at a Loss
whom they mean.

Thus Mr. Murray was bred a *Jacobite*;
at least, whatever political Notions he had
when he began to travel, seem'd to be
turn'd that Way: He had not indeed
formed any System, nor asked himself what
Quarrel he had with the established Govern-
ment; he only disliked it, because the Par-
son he had heard oftenest, did not pray for
it, and perhaps in his Conversation had
made it the Object of his Raillery, while
he made the Pretender the Object of his
Wishes.

But as soon as Mr. Murray came under

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the Direction of his travelling Tutor he
learned new Maxims; and was taught by
him to hate both the Established Church,
and our happy Constitution, from Principle.
The Tutor's Conversation had great In-
fluence to keep him steady to the Maxims
he had instill'd; but the Conversation of
some of those unhappy Gentlemen, who
were Fugitives from their native Country on
Account of the Rebellion in 1715, still con-
firmed him the more; for the Tutor took
Care, that wherever any of these Gentle-
men were to be met with, they were the
constant Companions of his Pupil.

When at *Rome*, he was in private intro-
duced to the Chevalier; but was too young
as yet to form any Scheme, or be trusted
with the Secrets of the Party: Yet he as-
sured the Pretender of his Attachment to his
Person and Interest; and tho' nothing
passed at the private Interview, but what is
common in Visits of Ceremony, yet it so
turned Mr. Murray's Head upon Politicks,
that he fancy'd himself from that Day, a
Statesman of great Importance; and from
this Period, we may believe he laid the
Plan of his own Ruin, and that of many
others who followed his Advice in this last
mad and unnatural Rebellion.

After visiting the several Places which
employ the Curiosity of young Travellers,
he returned in about three Years, very little
improv'd, except in his Antipathy to the
Establish'd Government in Church and
State, and a strong Conceit of his own
Ability for Matters of the highest Conse-
quence, especially in Politicks; of which
he fancy'd he had got a sufficient Fund of
Knowledge to govern Kingdoms.

He was in Fain till he had told all his Ac-
quaintance, that he had had the Honour of
kissing the Pretender's Hand, and had been
admitted to a private Audience; and made
them believe that the Conversation turned
upon the State of his Affairs in *Scotland*;
and that his Majesty, as he termed him,
had communicated to him his Intention of
making suddenly a Push to recover his Do-
minions, and made him great Promises of
Preferment, upon his Restoration.

This gain'd young Mr. Murray the Con-
fidence and Esteem of all the old Women
in the Neighbourhood: He appeared to
them as the Pretender's Plenipotentiary in
those Parts, and they thought themselves
happy in the good Graces of a Man in such
eminent Favour; the Women converted
their credulous Husbands, and persuaded
them to make their Court to Mr. Murray,
as the only Man who would be able to make
their Fortunes in a short Time: And the
titular Bishop of *Callaway* happening at
this Time to die, Mr. Murray took upon
him to write to one of the Pretender's Do-
mesticks,

P P P

mesticks, recommending one *Maxwell*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who officiated as his Chaplain, to this Dignity. His Correspondent succeeded, and the Chaplain was nominated to this vacant See: So considerable a Promotion, by Mr. *Murray's* Influence, made the poor People, who were let into the Secret, believe there was nothing impossible for his Worship; and he himself fancied that he should soon be a very considerable Man, and therefore applied himself to make all the Profelytes he could to his Master's Interest.

He formed a Kind of Cabal, or Club, which met at his House once a Fortnight; where they spent their Time laying Schemes for the Restoration, as they call'd it; reviling the Government, and drinking the Pretender's Health: The Club consisted of some Country Farmers, two or three small Fewers, or Vassals of his Estate, his Worship's Barber, his Chaplain, and the School-master of the Parish, with about a Dozen old Women: Mr. *Murray* was President of this learned Assembly; and opened their Sessions constantly with a learned Speech, full of Invectives against the present Government, and pointing out the Happiness they should all enjoy, in case the Pretender should be established upon the Throne. The Chaplain and the School-master generally answered his Worship's Harangue with one of the same Kind; adding Compliments to their President, upon his great Abilities in State Affairs, and the great Eloquence he shewed himself Master of in his Speeches from the Chair: Then they generally proceeded to enumerate the National Grievances, and all the Friends they might expect to join them in the great Work of a Restoration: They had formed to themselves a List of the Names of all the Great Men in the Kingdom, and found some Argument or other to flatter themselves, that every one of them would join in the *good old Cause*.

They went on thus for two or three Years, but without any considerable Addition to their Numbers; which, however, did not discourage them; for, this wise Assembly look'd upon themselves as the Representatives of the whole Nation; and I believe very little would have persuaded them to take upon them the Name of a Parliament: But, about the End of the third Year of their Sessions, an Accident happen'd, which disturb'd this wise Senate, and disconcerted their Measures: Mr. *Murray* happened to be at *Edinburgh*, and in his Absence the Club met according to their usual Adjournment, and the Chaplain filled the Chair; the Barber, that Night, introduced a Stranger to the Club, a Fellow who

carried on a Smuggling-Trade between the *Isle of Man* and the West-Coast of *Scotland*; the Smuggler was a hasty, honest, drunken Companion, lov'd his Bottle and his Friend, but had not Brains turn'd for a Politician; and in reality was no Enemy to the Establishment: Yet, to promote his Trade of Smuggling, could rail at the Ministry, and sometimes talk Treason, if he thought it agreeable to his Company: This had prevailed on the Barber to think him a fit Member of this secret Assembly. This new Guest admitted, the Company fell to their usual Custom of railing at the Government, and talk'd Treason by Wholesale: When they had drank plentifully, they curs'd his Majesty, and drank a Health to the Pretender, upon the bare Knee; the Smuggler made some Scruple to go thro' this Part of the Ceremony: But, at last, partly by Persuasion, and partly by Threats from the Chair, he comply'd; but was no sooner dismiss'd, but the Fellow rode that Night to a neighbouring Justice, and gave Information of the Proceedings of this Assembly: The Justice, who ow'd Mr. *Murray* a Spite, granted Warrants against Numbers of them, and the Chaplain, titular Bishop of *Galloway*, was taken into Custody: Mr. *Murray* was soon informed of the Fate of his Friends, and was struck with a Panick, lest some of them, to save their own Bacon, should impeach him: His Fear was not groundless; and this good Churchman made no Scruple to discover the whole Design of the Assembly, and the Part Mr. *Murray* acted; and did not forget that he had procured for him the Pretender's Nomination to the Bishoprick of *Galloway*: All this amounted to no less than High-Treason: However, some of Mr. *Murray's* Friends, who knew his Weakness, and did not desire the Ruin of his Family, found Means to stifle the Information, upon Condition that the Club should be discarded, and the titular Prelate should voluntarily absent himself from the Country, and Mr. *Murray's* Company.

One would have imagined that this narrow Escape would have taught Mr. *Murray* more Wisdom for the future: But he had got such an Itch to be dabbling in Politics, that he had no Relish of Life but when he was plotting; tho' hitherto his Brain had not been very prolifick, yet he hoped Time and Opportunity would furnish him with Materials, to achieve something very great in Favour of the Pretender.

The Ill-Blood which the Excise-Scheme bred in the Nation had not yet subsided, when the unhappy Affair of Capt. *Po-
tous* * gave fresh Discontent. Mr. *Murray*

* See London Magazine for 1737, p. 219, 220, 287, 300, 348, 718-725.

believed that to be a proper Time to attempt something in Favour of the Pretender; for this Purpose he was not idle in blowing the Coals of Sedition, and fomenting the Flame which that unhappy Affair had raised in the Minds of many, otherwise very well affected to the Establishment; but the Imprudence Mr. Murray had shewn in the Affair of the Club at his own House, made those who were really *Jacobites*, cautious in trusting him with their Sentiments, so that he could only work himself into the Confidence of a few Persons of the same Stamp with those of the discarded Assembly; only he happen'd by Chance to get acquainted at *Edinburgh* with the Laird of *M'Laughlan*, and *Stewart*, then younger, of *Appin*; the former a Man of Courage, and in his Capacity a well-meaning Country Gentleman; and the latter but few Degrees removed from a Natural; however both *Jacobites*, and considerable for their Families, and as Chiefs of Clans: Mr. Murray knew their Character, and therefore soon wrought himself into their Confidence: He boasted of the Friends he could raise in the West; and the Highland Chiefs, of the Strength of their Clans, and those who were of the same Opinion with them: Mr. Murray made an Estimate of the Forces that could be raised in the Highlands for the Service of the Cause, from these Gentlemen's Information; and they three resolved, that Mr. Murray should go to the Pretender, to give him an Account of the Situation of his Friends in the Highlands, and the Readiness they were in to make an Attempt in his Favour: They took upon them to write an Address in the Name of all the Highland Clans, and to recommend Murray as their Agent, or Plenipotentiary.

Thus, as he had formerly assumed the Character of a Plenipotentiary from the Pretender, because he had kissed his Hand; so now he assumes the Character of a Deputy from the Highland Clans, tho', perhaps, he never spoke with one of them, except the two just mentioned, who are two of the most inconsiderable of their Number; but he was resolved to be a Statesman at any Rate, however qualified for the Vocation.

Besides the publick Letters of Credence, he had private Letters from the Laird of *M'Laughlan*, to one C——n C——e, Brother to Sir D——r C——e of L——l, a *Papish* Priest then at *Rome*, which happened to be of more Service to him, than any other Recommendation he carried with him. He made some Stay at *Paris* in his Way to *Rome*; and attempted to be introduced to the Cardinal, in order to communicate to him the Design of his Journey; but that

Minister had got Information of our Politician's Character, and could not be persuaded to honour him with an Interview; however he got some Letters from the Marquise of *Tullibardine*, old *Lecciel*, and some other Gentlemen of that Party then at *Paris*, to their Acquaintance at the Pretender's Court:

A Upon his Arrival there, he first applied to Mr. *Kelly*, to whom he had some Letters. This Gentleman, upon a slight Conversation, soon found the Depth and Shallows of our Politician, and gave him but a very cool Reception; and declined introducing him to the Pretender, but offer'd to deliver his Dispatches: Mr. Murray did not like this Method of Proceeding, and refused to trust *Kelly* with his Letters. He then applied to Mr. C——e, the Priest, who introduced him to *Hay's* Lady, who is reputed to be the Pretender's Mistress, and assumes there the Title of Lady *Inverness*; that Lady was prevailed on to procure him a private Audience of the Chevalier; to whom he deliver'd his Dispatches. The Pretender, who had been prepossessed against him by *Kelly*, did not receive him with all the Marks of Esteem, which the seeming Importance of his Commission required: He only thank'd him for the Pains he had taken, and told him he would shortly consider of the Contents of his Dispatches.

D He staid at *Rome* some Months before he could have another Audience; and at last was referred to Mr. *Kelly*, who made light of every Thing Mr. Murray propos'd: He wanted to prevail on the Chevalier to order a Sum of Money to be distributed amongst the Clans, both to engage them more firmly in his Interest, and to buy up Arms, in order for an Insurrection, which he represented the Spirit of the Nation in general to be ripe for. But the Politicians at *Rome* could not be persuaded to be of his Opinion; they concluded nothing could be done without foreign Force; and the Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* was then such, that they could not expect any Thing of that Kind; all that he could procure was, a Letter from the Chevalier addressed to the Highland Clans, thanking them for their proffer'd Service, and assuring them that he should always have a grateful Sense of their Loyalty, &c.

E Mr. Murray returned with this Letter, and gave it to his two corresponding Chiefs, desiring them to communicate the same to the rest of their Friends: But this gave but little Satisfaction to the Party; as Mr. Murray had made them believe that this hopeful Negotiation would have ended in something more agreeable, that is, that they might either have got some Money to answer their Necessity, or have been encouraged

raged to raise a national Commotion, out of which they expected to fish something for their Advantage.

However, Mr. Murray looked upon himself now as the Head of the *Jacobite* Faction; tho' not one Man of any Note, of that Party, would even converse with him, much less trust him with their secret Intentions. A kind of Schism happened about this time, in the Church of *Scotland*, occasioned by the Aversion some hot-headed Clergy had to Patronages; the Affair might have ended in some popular Disturbance, if the Ministry had not treated the Schismatical Clergy with Contempt. Mr. Murray, and his little low Agents spirited up the Division, in Hopes to have set the People by the Ears; and magnified his Endeavours that Way to his Friends at *Rome*: But in a little Time the Affair dwindled to nothing, and Mr. Murray lost his Aim, as well as his Reputation for Intelligence, since nothing happened, as he had conjectured.

When the Invasion in 1743 was talk'd of, Mr. Murray began to muster all his Forces; and wrote circular Letters to his Correspondents in the *Highlands*, but they took little Notice of his Letters; however he began, from this Time, to enlarge his Correspondence among the Disaffected, as he judged the War with *France* might produce something in Favour of his Scheme; some of the lesser Chiefs were prevailed on, by the travelling *Romish* Missionaries, with whom Murray corresponded, to be less reserved in their Answers to his Letters, and by this Means, before the Breaking out of the last Rebellion, he had got some Letters from a considerable Number of *Highland* Lairds; whom he supposed capable of raising much greater Numbers of Men, than they really were; he was so sanguine in his Hopes, so credulous and so ignorant of the Nature of the Country, that in a List transmitted to the *Chevalier* of those who had engaged to him, to join his Standard upon its first Appearance, he computes, that they would raise 60,000 Men; tho' it's manifest, that if every Person in that List had raised every Man from 16 to 60, upon their Estates, and actually joined the Pretender, they could not bring into the Field 2000 Men.

However, as Men are apt to give easy Credit to those Things they wish to be true, however improbable, Mr. Murray gained Credit; and in Spite of *Kelly's* Opposition, when the young *Chevalier* landed, he was made Secretary of State for *Scotch* Affairs; but the Affairs of *England* remained in *Kelly's* Management, who both hated and despised Mr. Murray.

The *Chevalier* had not been many Weeks in *Scotland*, when the Emptiness of Mr.

Murray's Promises appeared; for either those Gentlemen he had depended on, in his great List, joined the King's Forces, remained neuter, or if they joined, it was with such a Force, as bore no Proportion to the Strength Murray had promised in their Name.

A These Disappointments expoied Mr. Murray to the Resentment of Mr. Kelly, who never ceas'd doing him ill Offices with the *Chevalier*, while he remained with the Army; but when that Gentleman returned to *France*, to hasten the *French* Succours, Mr. Murray enjoyed his Place with greater Peace, and was allowed to transact the Business of Secretary for the whole Island. But yet he wanted not Enemies who could have wished him removed: He united himself with *Sullivan*, and *Oneil*, who ingrossed the Young Pretender's Favour; and this gain'd him Enemies among the *Scotch*, who resented that two *Irishmen*, who brought nothing to the Cause but their Persons, should be preferred to Natives, who risked their Lives and Fortunes; and charged the Secretary with Meanness of Spirit, and Treachery to his Country, for allowing himself to be the Tool of these Favourites; however, he found these two supported him in his Place; so like a true Statesman he despised the Complaints of his Countrymen: He became haughty and imperious; and in his Station of a Mock-Secretary of State, he behaved with as much Arrogance, as if he had been Prime Minister to the greatest Prince in *Europe*. He is naturally a Coward, and consequently cruel in his Disposition, as may be gathered from the Circumstance of his Signing an Order before the Battle of *Culloden*, to give no Quarter to the King's Forces. In short, from what has been said, this general Character may be drawn of him, That he is a Stranger to all Kind of Letters, except the mere Languages; that he is a Bigot in his Principles; of a proud, haughty, imperious, cruel Temper, weak in his Intellects, and conceited in his Opinion; but of a restless, factious, and ambitious Disposition.

F As the Publick is at present very attentive to the critical Situation of the State of *Genoa*, which the *Austrians* have already enter'd; and as there is nothing so capable of giving a right Notion of the Force and Strength of any Country, as a clear and candid Description of it, and of the Dispositions of its Inhabitants, we shall give our Readers the following Extract from Mr. ADDISON's Travels.

G THE *Genoese* are esteemed extremely cunning, industrious, and inured to Hardship

Hardship above the rest of the *Italians*; which was likewise the Character of the old *Ligurians*. And indeed it is no Wonder, while the Barrenness of their Country continues, that the Manners of the Inhabitants do not change, since there is nothing makes Men sharper, and sets their Hands and Wits more at work than Want. The *Italian* Proverb says of the *Genoese*, that they have a *Sea without Fish, Land without Trees, and Men without Faith*.

There are a great many beautiful Palaces standing along the Sea-Shore on both Sides of *Genoa*, which make the Town appear much longer than it is to those that sail by it. The City itself makes the noblest Shew of any in the World. The Houses are most of them painted on the Outside, so that they look extremely gay and lively, besides that they are esteemed the highest in *Europe*, and stand very thick together. The new Street is a double Range of Palaces from one End to the other, built with an excellent Fancy, and fit for the greatest Princes to inhabit. The Front of the *Villa Imperiale*, at a Mile distance from *Genoa*, without any Thing of Paint upon it, consists of a *Doric* and *Corinthian* Row of Pillars, and is much the handsomest of any I saw there. The Duke of *Doria's* Palace has the best Out-side of any in *Genoa*, as that of *Durazzo* is the best furnish'd within. There is one Room in the first, that is hung with Tapestry, in which are wrought the Figures of the great Persons that the Family has produced; as, perhaps, there is no House in *Europe* that can shew a longer Line of Heroes, that have still acted for the Good of their Country. *Andrew Doria* has a Statue erected to him, at the Entrance of the Doge's Palace, with the glorious Title of *Deliverer of the Commonwealth*; and one of his Family another, that calls him its *Preserver*. In the Doge's Palace are the Rooms, where the great and little Council, with the two Colleges, hold their Assemblies; but as the State of *Genoa* is very poor, tho' several of its Members are extremely rich, so one may observe infinitely more Splendor and Magnificence in particular Persons Houses, than in those that belong to the Publick. But we find in most of the States of *Europe*, that the People shew the greatest Marks of Poverty, where the Governors live in the greatest Magnificence. The Churches are very fine, particularly that of the *Annunciation*, which looks wonderfully beautiful in the Inside, all but one Corner of it, being covered with Statues, Gilding, and Paint. A Man would expect, in so very ancient a Town of *Italy*, to find some considerable Antiquities: But all they have to shew of this Nature, is an old *Rosstrum* of a Roman Ship,

that stands over the Door of their Arsenal. It is not above a Foot long, and, perhaps, would never have been thought the Beak of a Ship, had it not been found in so probable a Place as the Haven. It is all of Iron, fashioned at the End like a Bear's Head, as I have seen it represented on Medals, and on the *Columna Rosstrata* in *Rome*. — I know nothing more remarkable in the Government of *Genoa*, than the Bank of *St. George*, made up of such Branches of the Revenues, as have been set apart, and appropriated to the Discharge of several Sums, that have been borrowed from private Persons, during the Exigencies of the Commonwealth. Whatever Inconveniencies the State has laboured under, they have never entertained a Thought of violating the Publick Credit, or of alienating any Part of these Revenues to other Uses, than to what they have been thus assigned. The Administration of this Bank is for Life, and partly in the Hands of the chief Citizens, which gives them a great Authority in the State, and a powerful Influence over the common People. This Bank is generally thought the greatest Load on the *Genoese*, and the Managers of it have been represented as a second Kind of Senate, that break the Uniformity of Government, and destroy, in some Measure, the fundamental Constitution of the State. It is, however, very certain, that the People reap no small Advantages from it, as it distributes the Power among more particular Members of the Republick, and gives the Commons a Figure: So that it is no small Check upon the Aristocracy, and may be one Reason, why the *Genoese* Senate carries it with greater Moderation towards their Subjects, than the *Venetian*.

It would have been well for the Republick of *Genoa*, if she had followed the Example of her Sister of *Venice*, in not permitting her Nobles to make any Purchase of Lands or Houses in the Dominions of a foreign Prince. For at present the Greatest among the *Genoese*, are in Part subject to the Monarchy of *Spain*, by reason of their Estates that lie in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The *Spaniards* tax them very high upon Occasion, and are so sensible of the Advantage this gives them over the Republick, that they will not suffer a *Neapolitan* to buy the Lands of a *Genoese*, who must find a Purchaser among his own Countrymen, if he has a Mind to sell. For this Reason, as well as on Account of the great Sums of Money which the *Spaniard* owes the *Genoese*, they are under a Necessity, at present, of being in the Interest of the *French*, and would probably continue so, tho' all the other States of *Italy* entered into a League against

against them. *Genoa* is not yet secure from a Bombardment, tho' it is not so exposed as formerly: For since the Insult of the *French*, they have built a Mole, with some little Ports, and have provided themselves with long Guns, and Mortars. It is easy for those that are very strong at Sea to bring them to what Terms they please, for having but very little arable Land, they are forced to fetch all their Corn from *Naples*, *Sicily*, and other foreign Countries, except what comes to them from *Lombardy*, which probably goes another Way, whilst it furnishes two great Armies with Provisions. Their Fleet, that formerly gained so many Victories over the *Saracens*, *Pisans*, *Venetians*, *Turks*, and *Spaniards*, that made them Masters of *Crete*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Negrepont*, *Lefbos*, *Malta*, that settled them in *Scio*, *Smyrna*, *Achaia*, *Theodestia*, and several other Towns on the Eastern Confines of *Europe*, is now reduced to six Gallies. When they had made an Addition of but four new ones, the King of *France* sent his Orders to suppress them, telling the Republick at the same Time, that he knew very well how many they had Occasion for. This little Fleet serves only to fetch them Wine and Corn, and to give their Ladies an Airing in the Summer Season. The Republick of *Genoa* has a Crown and Sceptre for its Doge, by Reason of their Conquest of *Corfica*, where there was formerly a *Saracen* King. This indeed gives their Ambassadors a more honourable Reception at some Courts, but at the same Time may teach their People to have a mean Notion of their own Form of Government, and is a tacit Acknowledgment that Monarchy is the more honourable. The old *Romans*, on the contrary, made use of a very barbarous Kind of Politicks to inspire their People, with a Contempt of Kings whom they treated with Infamy, and dragged at the Wheels of their triumphal Chariots.

An authentick LIST of PRISONERS taken in Italy, from the Army of the Three Crowns, France, Spain and Naples, as published at Milan, with the necessary Extracts and Certificates to verify the Facts that are contained therein.

At Asti	—	—	—	5240
At Quarli	—	—	—	97
At Castel Alfir	—	—	—	100
At Alexandria	—	—	—	908
At Moncalva	—	—	—	250
At Casal	—	—	—	260
At Brema	—	—	—	120
At Guastalla, Pont-Bacharet, and St. Ignace	—	—	—	2113
At Codogno	—	—	—	25

At Lodi	—	—	—	25
At Milan	—	—	—	45
In the Castle of Parma	—	—	—	924
In the City of Parma	—	—	—	297
At the Castle of Rivalta	—	—	—	200
At Orselergo and Monte Chiaro	—	—	—	700
In the Battle of Placentia	—	—	—	5097
At our Lady of Monte-Costo	—	—	—	40
At the Battle of Rotto-Freddo	—	—	—	1426
At Placentia	—	—	—	6300
At Ponte Couronna	—	—	—	100
At Ripalta	—	—	—	497
In the Town of Serravalla	—	—	—	221
In the Castle of Serravalla	—	—	—	230

In all 25271

This List of Prisoners commences *March* the 22d, and ends *August* the 22d; and on a moderate Computation it may be supposed, the Killed, dead of their Wounds and Diseases, Deserted, and Disabled, are double; so that what has been advanced of the Army of the three Crowns losing above 60,000 Men in the last six Months, instead of appearing extravagant and incredible, seems a very moderate and probable Calculation.

A DESCRIPTION of NAMUR, &c. (See p. 313.)

NAMUR (just taken by the *French*) is situated upon the Conflux of the *Sambre* with the *Meuse*, lies between two Mountains, and has a very strong Castle. Some derive its Name from *Novus Mur*, a new Wall, built there by the *Romans*. The Cathedral, dedicated to *St. Aubin*, was built in 1569, and the Bishoprick is subject to the Archbishop of *Cambray*. Besides the Cathedral, there is also the Collegiate Church of Our Lady, and several other Churches and Monasteries. This City has a large and handsome Market-Place, a stately Town-House, and abundance of good Stone Buildings. It is no less rich than pleasant and strong. The Council-Royal of the Province resides here, from which, however, the People might appeal to that of *Malines*. In 1692, the Strength of this Place being discover'd to the *French* by the Baron de *Bresse*, who, under Pretence of being taken, did actually desert the *Spanish* Service; *Louis XIV.* sat down before it with 80,000 Men, the Marshal Duke of *Luxembourg* covering the Siege with another great Army. The Town was taken after a few Days Resistance, a Parley having been beat by a Drummer, that never discover'd who order'd him to do so. While the *French* continu'd to besiege the Castle, King *William* march'd with 90,000 Men to its Relief; but the *French*, tho' advantageously

timely posted, declin'd a Battle. His Majesty did, notwithstanding, drive them from some of their Posts, and laid Bridges over the River to pass it: But in the mean Time a great Rain happening, swell'd the River, carried away the Bridges, prevented his attacking them, and so gave them the Opportunity of mastering the Castle likewise, which surrender'd on the 2d of July, 1692. The Fortifications of *Namur* were afterwards very much improv'd by the French, and this taking of it was esteem'd one of the most glorious Actions of *Louis XIV.* It did not, however, continue long in his Hands, being retaken by King *William* in 1695, after a most desperate and bloody Siege, Marshal *Boufflers* commanding in it, with a Garison of not less than 16,000 Men, and *Villeroi* without, with an Army of 100,000, not daring to attempt its Relief. Upon the Death of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*, the French seiz'd this City, among the other Places of his Succession, and held it during the last War; but were oblig'd, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, to restore it to the House of *Austria*, who have held it till this Time. It is esteem'd the strongest Fortrefs in *Europe*, tho' some incline to give the Pre-eminence to *Lisle* and *Tournay*. The Jesuits Church is reckon'd a magnificent Structure, exceeding that of *Antwerp*. *Namur* lies 32 Miles S. E. of *Brussels*, 37 E. of *Mons*, 50 almost S. of *Antwerp*, 60 S. E. of *Ghent*, 45 W. of *Limbourg*, 71 N. W. of *Luxembourg*, and 140 N. W. of *Paris*. Long. 4 D. 56 M. Lat. 50 D. 25 M.

Seventeen Miles N. E. of *Namur* stands *Huy* or *Hoey*, a Town and Castle on the River *Maese*, near the Place where the River *Huy* runs into it, which gives Name to the Town. 'Tis divided by the *Maese* into two Parts, and is reputed very ancient. The principal Fortifications are on the Right-hand Side of the River. It had formerly particular Earls, who gave it to the Bishops of *Liege*. This Place suffer'd much in the late Wars: In 1692 the French sat down before it, but soon quitted the Enterprize; however, they besieged it the next Year, and carried it in a few Days. It was retaken by the Confederates in 1694, and restored to its Sovereign. In 1702, the French, being sensible of the Importance of this Place, put a Garison into it again; but the Year following it was taken by the Confederate Army under the Duke of *Marborough*. In 1705 the French retook it, and were again expel'd the same Year by the Confederates, who held it till the Peace of *Baden*, when it was restored to its Prince, the Bishop of *Liege*, in whose Hands it remain'd till Count *Loewendahl* lately seiz'd upon it with a Body of 20,000

Men, detach'd from the Army under Marshal *Saxe*, (see p. 426.) and thereby reduced Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* to the Necessity of passing the *Maese*, with the Confederate Army, as his Royal Highness had no Troops to spare for an Attempt to dislodge Count *Loewendahl*; nor was he provided with Battering Cannon, nor even with Field Pieces enough, to venture a Battle with Count *Saxe*.

Fourteen Miles South of *Namur* lies *Dinant*, a wealthy Town on the River *Maese*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Liege*. It had formerly a strong Citadel on a steep Rock, that was ruin'd by the French in 1554, and has been restored since. It is a Place of some Trade, particularly in Manufactures of Brass and Iron. The French were in Possession of it from 1675, till it was restored by the Peace of *Ryswick* in 1697. But upon the Confederate Army's advancing lately to cover *Namur*, and to relieve *Charleroy* also, if possible, Count *Saxe* order'd a large Detachment to take Post at *Dinant*, and thereby made himself Master of the Navigation of the *Maese* above *Namur*, at he did at the same Time below that Town by the seizing of *Huy*; which unlucky Incidents render'd it impossible for Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* to stay any longer on this Side of the *Maese*, as we have observ'd above.

From the London Evening Post.

S I R,

AS a great deal has been printed and publish'd relating to the Behaviour of the late Earl of *Kilmarnock* and the late Lord *Balmerino*, I here send you an Account, from the *State Trials*, of the Behaviour, on the Scaffold, of two of the greatest Men this Nation ever produced, viz. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the Earl of *Strafford*, without making any Observations, or Remarks.

Sir *Walter*, when he came on the Scaffold, with a cheerful Countenance, saluted the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen present; and after his Speech to the Spectators, he prepared himself for Death, giving away his Hat, his Cap, with some Money, to such as he knew; and then taking his Leave of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, and others of his Acquaintance, and, among the rest, of the Lord *Arundel*, he thank'd him for his Company, saying to him, *I have a long Journey to go, therefore I will take my Leave; and then, putting off his Doublet and Gown, desired the Headsman to shew him the Axe, which not being suddenly granted unto him, he said, I prithee let me see it, dost thou think that I am afraid of it? So it being given unto him, he felt along*

along upon the Edge of it, and, smiling, spake unto Mr. Sheriff, saying, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician that will cure all Diseases.* Then the Executioner kneel'd down and ask'd him Forgiveness, when laying his Hand on his Shoulder *he forgave him.* Being ask'd which Way he would lay himself on the Block, he said, *So the Heart be straight, it's no Matter which Way the Head lieth.* So laying his Head down, his Face towards the East, the Headsmen, after the Signal given, struck off his Head at two Blows.

The Earl of *Strafford*, when he mounted the Scaffold, made his Obeisances, and began to take his last Farewel of his Friends, who appear'd much more concern'd than himself; and observing his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, to weep excessively; Brother, (said he, with a cheerful Briskness) *what do you see in me to deserve these Tears? Dost any indecent Fear betray in me a Guilt, or my innocent Boldness any Atheism? Think now that you are accompanying me the third Time to my Marriage Bed: Never did I throw off my Cloaths with greater Freedom and Content than in this Preparation to my Grave: That Stock (pointing to the Block) must be my Pillow; here shall I rest from all my Labours: No Thoughts of Envy, no Dreams of Treason, Jealousies or Cares for the King, the State, or myself, shall interrupt this easy Sleep.* Then he proceeded to clear himself of the Charges against him; and, after his Speech ended, going to take off his Doublet, he said; *I thank God, I am not afraid of Death, nor daunted with any Discouragement arising from any Fears; but do as cheerfully put off my Doublet as this Time, as ever I did when I went to Bed:* Then he put off his Doublet, wound up his Hair with his Hands, and put on a white Cap; then he call'd, *Where is the Man that is to do this last Office?* (meaning the Executioner) *Call him to me:* When he came, and ask'd him Forgiveness, he told him, *he forgave him and all the World.* Then bowing himself to lay his Head upon the Block, he told the Executioner, *that he would first lay down his Head to try the Fittness of the Block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all;* and so he did: And before he laid it down again, told the Executioner, *that he would give him Warning when to strike, by stretching forth his Hands;* and presently laying down his Neck upon the Block, and stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner struck off his Head at one Blow.

The CASE of *GEORGE Earl of CROMERTIE*, who had Sentence of Death pass'd against him, for High Treason, at the same Time with the late Earl of *KIL-*

MARNOCK and Lord *BALMERINO*; but was graciously reprieved by his Majesty.

THE Earl, from his Infancy, was educated in the Principles of the established Church of *Scotland*, to which he always adhered till his late Misfortune; inasmuch that he has, upon several Occasions, received the Thanks of the General Assembly of that Church.

The Earl intermarried in a Family, whose Affection to the present Royal Family was remarkable on all Occasions; and particularly, during the Rebellion in 1715, many of them used their utmost Efforts in Support of this happy Constitution; and they acted the same Part in the present Rebellion.

The Earl has Issue of this Marriage 9 Children, and his Wife is now with Child; and these have been brought up strictly in the same Principles: And as to his eldest Son, he imbibed those Principles from his Parents, and from 3 successive Preceptors, who are all now Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, under the Eye of Mr. *Dundas* his Uncle, who had the Honour to serve his late Majesty as his Advocate for *Scotland*, and was appointed by his present Majesty one of the Judges of the supreme Court there.

Soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion, when his Majesty's Troops, under the Command of Sir *John Cope*, arrived at *Inverness*, in the End of *August* last Year, the Earl immediately waited on him, and made a Tender of all his Power and Influence in suppressing this Rebellion; but, to his great Misfortune at this Day, such Assistance was not then judged necessary.

After the Action at *Preston Pans*, when Commissions were issued for raising Independent Companies, under the Direction of Mr. *Forbes*, President of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, Application was made for a Company for his Son, the Lord *M'Leod*; and as he had Reason to hope for Success, he directed the Gentlemen, whom he intended to be Subalterns in the Company, to levy the Men; and the Levies went on accordingly; and the Earl's Zeal for the present Government continued unshaken until this Period: And for this he appeals to Sir *John Cope*, Mr. *Forbes*, and to the Attestations of 8 *Presbyterian* Ministers, in the Hands of his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*.

But when it was known that the Subalterns in Lord *M'Leod's* Company were to be named by the Lord *Forbes*, and the Subalterns that the Earl had in View were disappointed, he was immediately beset by designing Men, and they used all their Art and Cunning upon the Earl, to seduce him from his Duty; but no Reason whatsoever could

could have had this Effect, if he had not been intoxicated with Liquor; and he no sooner recovered his Understanding, but he reflected with Horror upon what he had done; and for this he appeals to Mr. Brodie, Lord Lyon's Declaration, in the Hands of the Duke of Newcastle, and to the Knowledge of the other Members of both Houses of Parliament in the Earl's Neighbourhood.

This unhappy Lord, soon after engaging in this Rebellion, went to *Perth*, and continued there a Month, intirely in a private Capacity; for he assisted at none of the Reviews of the Rebels, mounted none of their Guards, bore no Arms, issued no Orders, but employed his Time chiefly in the Company of his Majesty's Officers, who were Prisoners there, and laboured Night and Day to procure them all Manner of Indulgences; and the only Use he made of his Credit in the Rebel Army, was to make their Captivity easy, in which he was fortunate enough to succeed in most Cases; and he appeals to those Gentlemen in this Respect.

He did indeed, afterwards, accept of a Command to levy the Cess, Excise, and other Contributions in the Shires of *Fife* and *Kinross*, to the Amount of 13000*l.* but he preserved such Discipline among the Soldiers under his Command, that tho' he intimated his Orders, upon Pain of military Execution, agreeable to the Terms in which they were delivered to him, yet he avoided all Methods of enforcing them, and returned without levying one Shilling, which, in a great Measure, saved his Majesty's faithful Subjects from those Exactions; and during his Stay in those Countries, the Inhabitants were uninjured in their Persons, and protected in their Properties; and he gave up that Command, that he might not be an Actor in, or a Witness to, the Severities which he then thought to be unavoidable; and for this he appeals to Certificates from Peers and Commoners of *Fife* and *Kinross*, in the Duke of Newcastle's Hands.

Upon his Return from this Command, he went, attended only by his own Domesticks, to a Gentleman's House, where he resided for some Time in a private Way, without Command or Commission, and without taking upon him any Concern, but the Continuance of all the good Offices he could exert for the Ease and Protection of his Majesty's Subjects.

The Action of *Falkirk* gave him a fresh, but melancholy Opportunity, of doing all the Acts of Humanity in his Power, to his Majesty's Troops, that were either taken or wounded in that Conflict; and he extended his Cares even to many of the unfortunate Persons who lost their Lives in his Majesty's Service.

September, 1746

When the Name of his Royal Highness the Duke, obliged the Rebel Army to march North, he continued without any Command.

When he arrived at *Inverness*, a Command was again imposed upon him, to repair to the Counties of *Ross* and *Sutherland*, and there to raise all the Men in that Country in Arms, levy large Sums of Money by Contribution, and large Quantities of Meal; and with strict Orders, in Case those Demands were not complied with, to use all Manner of military Execution, by burning Houses, destroying Cattle and other Severities: But so averse was he to these Methods of Violence, that he levied no Men in those Parts, and even his own Tenants in that Neighbourhood continued peaceable at Home; and he also granted Protections to all who asked them, and supported his Protections by Parties, and preserved the House of Sir Robert Munro, and of his Brother Culcairn, which were particularly doomed for Destruction by the Rebels; nor would he trust this Protection to others, but went himself and took the proper Measures for their Preservation; and he used the same Tendernefs and Care towards the House and Family of the Earl of *Sutherland*, for which he appeals to that noble Lord. And upon the Whole of this Article, tho' the unfortunate Earl notified the Orders he had from the Pretender, with all the severe Injunctions they contain'd, yet he executed none of those Severities; and his Delays were in some Measure salutary, as they prevented the full Execution of them, by those who were sent in his Place.

At the same Time his House was a Sanctuary to the Effects of his Majesty's loyal Subjects, and particularly of those employ'd in his Majesty's Service under Lord *London*.

The following is the Substance of a LETTER printed in the Daily Gazetteer, of Sept. 16; concerning our AMERICAN PLANTATIONS.

F S I R,

HOWEVER unconcerned many Persons appear, at the Difficulties, or the Misfortunes which attend the British Colonies in America, there is not a Society, or a Man of any Property in the Kingdom, who is not in some Degree or other affected by the Consequences.

As the Interest, the Preservation, and the Welfare of our Colonies, are therefore so strongly connected with our own, they have a just Claim not only to due Attention and Care, but to be consider'd next to their Mother Country: That they may not

Q. 9. 9

not be distressed by foreign *Enemies*; oppressed by *Male-Administration*; or deprived of their Native *Rights and Privileges*.

The Welfare of all Countries depends on good Government, and without doubt our *Plantations in America* would flourish, and be more beneficial to *Great Britain* than they ever have been, were they always committed to the Care of Men of *Experience, Ability, and Virtue*. Whether this Part of Policy has been duly observed or neglected, and whether there have not been *indigent, avaritious, or unskilful Persons* sent over, and intrusted with the Administration of some of them, are worthy of Consideration. A Man of slender Abilities, with an affluent or an easy Fortune, may make a tolerable Figure in private Life; but place him in a conspicuous Light, or in an elevated Station, it will expose all his Weaknesses, turn his Head, and render him an Object of Ridicule and Contempt. Is a Person who was incapable of managing his own Affairs, and wasted a considerable paternal Estate by his Extravagance and Folly, fit to be intrusted with the Conduct of a very valuable Island, and to preside over a frank, hospitable, good-natured People? Or is a Person qualified for a publick Station, of great Honour, Profit, and Trust, who is of a *peevish, choleric* Disposition, *unsteady and variable* as the Wind, unacquainted with the *Civil and Common Laws* of his Country, and has nothing to distinguish or recommend him, except an Influence over two B——s? No: If any such Person or Persons as I have described, have incautiously been promoted, by the Interest and Importunity of Friends: or any other Means, undoubtedly Care will be taken to inquire into their Conduct, to remove them in Time, and to compel them to make *Reparation* for any publick or private Injuries they have committed.

Whoever considers the Powers granted to the Governors of the *British Plantations in America*, will not be surprized at the Uneasiness they are often under, nor at the Complaints which in Consequence come from thence; for it is certainly inconsistent with the Interest and Welfare of any Country, that one Man should be vested with many large Powers, because they are commonly made use of to the Prejudice of the People.

And in order to convince every Man, who has any Interest or Concern in the Plantations, of the Reasonableness, and even of the Necessity of a proper Application, for abridging or lessening those Powers, I propose not only to enumerate them, but to shew the bad Uses to which they have frequently been made subservient.

A *British Governor* is appointed, by Pa-

tent under the Broad Seal of *England*, and is likewise *Captain-General, Chancellor, Vice-Admiral, ordinary and sole Judge* for the Probate of Wills, and granting of Letters of Administration.

As Governor, he is impowered to appoint *Judges, Justices, Sheriffs*, and other *Civil Officers*, and to remove them at his Discretion: To *summon, prorogue, and dissolve Assemblies*: To *pardon Crimes*, Murder and Treason excepted, and even in those Cases to grant *Reprieves*: To issue Commissions to Privateers in Time of War, and to apprehend and take Pirates in Time of Peace: And, in fine, to act with *Sovereign Authority*, according to the Laws of *England*, and the municipal Laws of the Country; for he has a Negative Voice in the passing of all Acts of Assembly.

As *Captain-General*, he appoints and removes, at Pleasure, all Officers of the Militia; reviews and commands them in Person, or otherwise, as he thinks proper.

As *Chancellor*, he hears and determines all Causes in the Court of Equity under 300*l.* without Appeal; tho' in all Suits above that Sum, the Party against whom the Decree is made has the Liberty of appealing to the King in Council.

His Power of *Vice-Admiral* is the same with the Vice-Admiral of a County in *England*. And,

As *ordinary and sole Judge* for the Probate of Wills, and granting of Letters of Administration, he has the Presentation of all *Church Livings* within his Jurisdiction; is empowered to grant *Marriage Licences*, and the Administration of the Estates of Persons who die intestate.

I shall suspend any Animadversions on these several Powers, and the Manner in which they are commonly exercised, until another Opportunity: But, before I conclude, give me Leave to observe, that it is my Meaning to make an Exception with regard to E——s and J——s, those Islands having the Happiness of being under the Administration of two most excellent Persons, who are justly distinguished in the World, for their great Experience and Skill in Military Affairs, as well as in the Maxims and Policy of Government. They are equally remarkable for the Solidity and Clearness of their Judgment, the Uprightness of their Conduct, and their disinterested Views; having nothing so much at Heart as the publick Utility, and, more particularly, their respective Jurisdictions. — I could here indulge myself with heightning and enlarging those Characters, but that my Pen is restrain'd by the great Regard I have for both of them.

Fortunate Islands! While other Countries are struggling with Difficulties, groaning under

est Pressures, and declining thro' bad Management; they have the Felicity of being perfectly easy and composed; Justice impartially administered; their native Rights and Privileges in no Degree violated; and, thro' the Mildness, the Equity and Goodness of their Administration, every Man sits under his own Vine undisturb'd, and enjoys the Fruits of his Industry with Pleasure and Satisfaction. I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Richmond, Sept. 13, 1746. A STURDY PLANTER.

[The Remainder of this Subject in our next.]

The FOOL.

From the same Paper, of Sept. 17.

ALL Revolutions in Government are most carefully to be avoided, and are only to be justified by absolute Necessity, when it's impossible for the natural Constitution longer to subsist; and the Justice and Necessity can then only appear by a great Majority of the People engaging in it. In other Cases, when Revolutions happen, they are always for the worse, because founded on self-interested Views, and the Ambition of Parties and particular Men; which was a good deal the Case of that which happened in Charles the 1st's Time, and produced among the People an uncertain and bloody War. The Intention of many who first oppos'd the Measures of the Court was extremely just; but as the Situation of Things was capable of being remedied without a Revolution, if self-interested and ambitious Men on both Sides could have suffer'd their own private Views to have ceded to the publick Good; as that was not the Case, a Revolution only ensued by Accident, and that begot another, and so on, till the political Changes being quite run through, Ambition harrass'd to Death, every body attempting, and no body succeeding, the Stream of Power, after a Variety of Wanderings, return'd into its old Channel again, and after an immense Expence of Blood and Treasure, we fell into our first State, but little mended.

The Revolution on the coming in of the Prince of Orange differ'd essentially from this; Matters being really in so bad a State, that even the Crown could not support itself with an entire regular standing Army at Command; which, and the Tranquillity ensuing thereupon, is sufficient Proof, not only that it was necessary and proper, but that a very great Majority of all Ranks and Degrees of People assented to, and united to bring it about. In this Light no body can fairly deny the Justice, Necessity, and Reasonableness of that Revolution.

From which slight Remarks I shall draw this obvious Inference, That all Revolutions attempted in a State, that do not operate to Effect, without Confusion and Bloodshed, are wicked and abominable, are not founded on the Sense of the People, therefore not just. Their Basis is Ambition, created by such Views as can in no Sense co-incide with the Nature and End of Government, the Reason of Things, or the Publick Good; and therefore, when attempted, justly deem'd wicked, as being immoral, and consequently meriting the severest Punishments.

There is a vast Difference between Persons in Power committing Errors, and laying purpos'd Schemes to ruin the People, by robbing them of their Rights and natural Liberty; the best Men are not infallible, and the worst would only be thought so. Therefore, when such Fools as myself speak or write against People in Power, it is upon a Presumption rather that they have bad Heads, than bad Hearts; and therefore would put them on Fools Heads to make them wiser. By this we show, that we desire the Publick Good pursu'd in the Hands it is; not seeking Revolution, but Wisdom, Diligence, and Attention, as Essentials to the Publick Good; hoping that every Man is able to make the Distinction between warning People to act as becomes them, and that of cutting their Throats.

I am oblig'd to make these Remarks, that I may not be mistaken for one of those Fools, who, either from Bigottry to Tenets that have no Foundation in Truth or Sense, or from an Ambition to be great at the Expence of the Publick Welfare and Repose, fall down and Worship the Head of an Italian Idol, a new Baal Peor, foisted in upon the Israelites, which never had Honour in its own Country; one of the Graven Images of our good Friends the French, designed by his Holiness the Pope, and sold publicly in London, with this silly Inscription, whereby are only to be distinguish'd the Adorers from the Adored. It runs thus:

En tibi me sculptum, si sculptum poscis in ære, Insculpas cordi me, precor, ipse tuo.

Which I take to be the Work of some foreign Doctor by the Peculiarity of the Latin; the true English whereof is, *The Pope made me, the French grav'd me; and therefore, Every Englishman that loves me, must wear me at his Heart: And I think a wiser Reason for an Englishman's Love of an Italian Idol could not easily have been given. But what a Pack of Fools do these bigotted Foreigners take us poor Englishmen for? And what delightful Idea do they give us of the Diligence and Care of our delegated Magistracy, when such Things are suffer'd to*

be publickly expos'd to Sale, the Fundamentals of our excellent Constitution, and the Honour of our Sovereign, to be laugh'd at and attack'd with Impunity; the Idol of a bigotted and besotted Faction sold at every Print Shop, at a Time when the very People who adore it are at the Feet of the Throne, imploring Mercy for having engaged in his pernicious Practices? This is what I dare say no Age nor Time can equal, and is changing the Beauty of Liberty into the Ugliness of licentious Madneſs; as if it was not enough to have labour'd for a Scene of Blood and Confusion, but after being defeated and at Mercy, flying in the Face of Power, and bidding it open Deſiance.

Either there is something at the Bottom of all this more than common Eyes ſee, or Rage and Deſpair has rendered theſe poor Creatures quite blind. The Gentlemen to whom Power is delegated, may think as ſlightly of this, and other Matters, a little too common, as they pleaſe; but they muſt excuſe us, if we, who love our King and Conſtitution, have very different Thoughts of the Matter. They may pretend that the Fool and his Copatriots are of another Stamp, but the World knows better; and every Day's Fool ſhall evince the contrary, as well as that we really love ſome People, better than they love themſelves; like faithful Watchmen conſtantly warning them of approaching Evils, and without expecting the leaſt Returns; ever wiſhing them to be more on their Guard, both for their own Sake, and for that of the Conſtitution, which has been of late too deſperately ſtruck at, eaſily to paſs our Remembrance.

To the AUTHOR, &c.

S I R,

THE Diſtemper, which has for ſome Time rag'd amongſt the horned Cattle, is a Matter of ſuch general Concern, that it behoves every Perſon, who has it in his Power, to communicate to the Publick whatever may tend towards putting a Stop to ſo great a Calamity: Therefore I beg Leave, thro' your Means, to acquaint all Perſons keeping Cows, with the following Proceſs, which a Gentleman has tried on two Milch Cows apparently diſtemper'd, which had its deſired Effect in perfectly curing them.

As ſoon as the Cow appeared diſtemper'd, which was by a Running at the Noſe and Eyes, attended with a Loofeneſs, ſwelling of the Bag, and a high Fever, or ſome of theſe Symptoms; he had the Beaſt well litter'd up, and kept warm and

cloath'd, and gave her a Quart of Tar-Water every two Hours, for the Space of 24 Hours: He then gave her a Pint every two Hours for 24 Hours more, and afterwards half a Pint every two Hours till ſhe recovered. During this Proceſs the Gentleman made the following Obſervations; That by the Time the Cow had taken down about 3 Gallons of Tar-Water, ſhe began to eat ſome fine Hay; upon which, about half an Hour after eating ſome, he gave her two Quarts of warm Water Gruel, which ſhe drank very greedily; on which, as ſhe continued eating, he increaſed the Quantity of Gruel, till ſhe drank near a Pailful as ſhe recovered; and that ſhe broke out in Blotches and Sores on her Udder ſoon after her taking the Tar-Water; on which he boiled ſome crude Tar and Hog's Lard together to an Ointment, which he applied to the Sores, and it heal'd them ſoon: He obſerved likewiſe, that as ſoon as the Cow was taken ill, her Milk dried up, and what little could be drawn from her was of a yellow Colour: He however adviſes, that during the giving Tar-Water the Cow ſhould be drawn Morning and Evening, to get the infectious Milk from her: He alſo thinks it will be proper to fix a Rowel pretty low in the Dewlap, which will greatly help to carry off the Malignity ſooner.

When the Cow ſeem'd to be recovered, ſhe had a little Tar-Water given her every four and then ſix Hours, and afterwards Morning and Evening for ſome Days; and in ſix Days, from her being firſt ill, ſhe was ſo well as to be turn'd to Graſs for one Hour in a Day, and then two Hours, increaſing going out more daily, taking Care however not to turn her out in wet and rainy Weather. When any Cows are taken ill, in order to prevent the reſt of the Herd receiving the Diſtemper, it will be proper to follow this Method. Give each ſound Cow the Quantity of two Egg-shells of crude Tar mix'd in a little warm Water, at the ſame Time rubbing their Noſes and Ears with Tar, which probably may prevent the Infection. If a Cow ſhould be taken violently bad, it may be proper to give her a Quart of Tar-Water every Hour till an Alteration happens.

The following is the Method of making Tar-Water; but as the Time taken up in making it is too long to be done after a Cow is diſtemper'd, it is recommended that every Perſon keeping Cows ſhould have as much by him ready made as he may have Occaſion for, according to the Number of Cows.

Put a Quart of Plantation Tar into a glazed Jar, and pour four Quarts of cold Spring Water on it, ſtirring it backwards and

and forwards well with a flat Stick for the Space of 15 Minutes, then stop it up close, and let it stand 3 Days and Nights to settle; afterwards skim the Oil from the Top of the Water, and pour the Water into Bottles, letting them be well corked. Whether Plantation or Stockholm Tar is best is not determined, but Plantation Tar was used in the above Case.

The Way to warm the Tar-Water is to put as much Water in a Sauce-pan, as when boiling-hot will serve to make the Tar-Water Blood-warm, by pouring it on the hot Water.

Your humble Servant,

Sept. 18, 1746.

J. H.

The following LETTER from a Gascoon Officer to the French King, is a good Burlesque on the Humour of the French, in assuming to themselves Victory when they are vanquished: The Spelling is according to the Gascoon Pronunciation of the French.

LETTRE du Marquis de Pezenas a Sa Majesté très Chretienne.

SIRE,

BOTRE Majesté, etant le Soliel de la France, de meme que ce vel astre dardans de tous Cotés, les Rayons de vos esselentes bertus, anime vos Troupes, d'une Biguer & d'une Uraboure inbincivle, et inspire a vos Generaux une Conduite plus qu'heroïque.

La Glorieuse Ation qui se passat le 10 de ce mois, fera le plus vel ornement de votre Regne, et comme je m'y suis troubé, en boici le recit.

Nous troubans, Rensermé, sous les murs de Plaisance denués de toutes probisions, et ne sachans pas de quel Coté tourner la tête: Nous teines la dessus maintes & maintes Consultations abans que de nous resoudre: A la fin ayant pris nos Resolutions, le Resultat en fut de passer le Po: Et cela a la varve de deux Armées Ennemies, l'une ici et l'autre la, neanmoins a telle le Distance qu'elle ne pouboient pas s'entrefecourir en tempe & lieux; mais de cela que m'importe!

Nous fimes donc marcher toute l'Armée, qui se montoit au Nomure d'Environ grante a cinquante mille hommes, (tous gens de Coeurs!) Et ayans choisis l'endroit de la Ribiere le plus combenavle pour la passer, nous nous troubames oposés a l'autre vord par le General de la Botte (Homme fier et altier s'il en fut jamais) abec un Corp monstru de Troupes qui nous paroissoit in-nomvrale comme le favlon de la Mer: Mais loin d'en etre etourdis, nous attaquames

cette epouventavle Armée, abec cette blo-lence & ce courage si natural a vos Trou-pes; le comvat fut de plus long, de plus opiniatre & de plus sanglant qui se soyent jamais bus: Mais nous le vatimes a plate Couture apres en aboir mis des milliers sans nomvre sur le quaraux, et cela sans la perte d'aucun des nôtres ecepté quel-ques Goujats: Durant cete velle ation le moindre de vos solda baloit grante des Alle-sandres.

Or donc les ayans mis en fuite, que fimmes nous? — Mais c'est ici ou je vous laisse, pour aboir lieu de vous reciter l'esse-lente conduite de vos Generaux.

B Apres une Bitôire aussi complete, Votre Majesté a eut tout lieu de croire qui nous les aurions poursuibi. Mais non! C'est la ac qui vous trompes; Nos Generaux qui aboient en bué de gagner le terretoire de Genes, donnerent d'avord ordre a nos gens de gagner au pieds; Ce que nous fimmes avrides avatués; Qui fut donc vien e-vatris & capot? Ce fut Messieurs les Alle-mans, qui fuyans commes des Liebres; Ayant enfin fait bolte face, loin de nous boir a leur trouffes, birent au contraires que nous nous eloignions d'eux abec une biteffe si es-traordinaire, que l'ange gardien de notre Armie aboit peine a nous suivre.

D Surpris d'une telle demarche, Apres cêtre vien consultés, ils s'abiserent de nous suivre, et boila justement ce que nous demandions, a deisein de les harceller; Ce que nous fimmes de la facon suibante: Nous laissames a l'avandon Plaisance abec notre grosse Ar-tillerie & Ammunition, notre Vagage et tout ce que nous abions de lourd; Or les Gail-lards troubans cela en leur Chemin s'en chargerent comme des Mulets. Jugés qu'elle en fut notre joie! Outre cela pour d'autant plus les harasser dans leur Marche, nous les abons mis dans l'emvaras d'escarmoucher nos Arriere troupes, & de ce saisir de maintes petites Fortereffes; pendant que nous qui etions a la tete porte par les Ailes de la Bi-toire d'un air bif, et d'un pied leger, gag-nions en toute diligence la bille de Tortone; pour aller de la nous camper sur le montag-nes de Genes, ou en plein Repos et Tran-quillité, nous berons benir de loin les Alle-mans, fatigués & crotés jusques au Couldes.

P Comme cette grande Bitoire ne peut qu'a-boir des glorieuses suites, je ne doute nulle-ment que par notre adresse, nous ne les fas-sions courir apres nous jusques en Provence; et je souhaiterois, plut, au Ciel! de les aboir a nos talons jusqu'au porte de Paris; pour que Votre Majeste ait seule toute la gloire de les esterminer.

A Rapport d'un detail pluz ezat & plus ample, je m'en rapporterai a mon Cousin le Marquis de Vogue Seigneur de Liviniac & Terre tombade.

J'ai

472 Gascoon Officer's Letter to the French King.

J'ai l'honneur d'être affectueusement & sans réserve de votre sublime Majesté

Le très fidelle,

Tres zelés,

Et assolument déboué

En route bolente Serbiteur & Sujet,
bers Tortonne, Aleffandre de Pezenas,
15 Aout, 1746. Colonel du Royal Regiment de la Garonne.

The same in English.

LETTER from the Marquis DE PIZENAS to his Most Christian MAJESTY.

S I R E,

YOUR Majesty being the Sun of France, you, like that glorious Luminary, dart on all Sides the Rays of your excellent Virtues, animate your Troops with a Vigour and Bravery invincible, and inspire your Generals with a Conduct more than heroick.

The glorious Action that happened on the tenth of this Month, (see p. 398) will be the brightest Ornament of your Reign; and as I chanced to be there, who so proper to give you a good Account?

We found ourselves, do you see, driven under the Walls of *Placentia*, destitute of Provisions, and not knowing which Way to turn our Heads; we held many and many a Consultation before we could come to any Resolution; at last however, to a Resolution we came, and that Resolution was to pass the *Po*, under the Beard, do you see, of two Armies of Enemies, one here, t'other there, so far asunder, as not to be able to help each other—but let that pass.

We caused therefore all our Army to march, amounting, it may be, to 40 or 50,000 Men, all bold Bloods; and having chose that Part of the River we could soonest get over, we found ourselves opposed on the other Side by General *de la Borte* (a very Devil, if ever there was one) with a monstrous Number of Men, not fewer than the Sands of the Sea; but not at all stunned at the Sight, we attacked this terrible Army, with that Violence and Spirit so natural to your Troops. The Combat was long, obstinate and bloody, as ever Combat was seen, but we fairly beat them at last, after laying Thousands dead upon the Plain, without any Loss to ourselves, but a few Rascallions, and in this brave Exploit, not to enlarge, every Soldier of yours did as much as forty *Alexanders*.

But having put them to Flight, what did we next?—But here I must pause; in order to give you Time to guess at the excellent Conduct of your Generals.

After a Victory so entire and so complete, your Majesty, no Doubt, believes, that we pursued them. No such Matter! there you're mistaken. Our Generals, who had in View the gaining of the Territory of *Genoa*, ordered us to make the best Use we could of our Legs, and, I promise you, we were very obedient. But what do you think became of those we had beat? The *Germans* I mean: Why they ran like Hares, but at last facing about, instead of seeing us at their Heels, they, on the contrary, found us at such a Distance, and moving at such a Rate, that the Guardian Angel of our Army had much ado to keep up with us.

Much surprized at so strange a Measure, after deep Consultation, they took it into their Heads to follow us; which was precisely what we proposed, in order to harass them; which we brought about in the following Manner. We abandoned *Placentia*, our heavy Artillery, Ammunition, Baggage, and whatever else was cumbrous, which these fine Fellows meeting with in their Way, loaded themselves with, as if they had been Mules. Do but think how we laughed at them! But not content with this, we suffered our Rear to lag, in order to skirmish with them; and lost to them, one by one, a few little Fortresses, while our Heads, borne by an Air of Victory, and our Heels, by another Air no less swift; gained in the shortest Time imaginable, the Town of *Tortona*, from whence we are gone to encamp in Quiet on the Mountains of *Genoa*, and shall there look down at our Ease, upon the poor Devils of *Germans*, tired and jaded to Death, with dragging our Things about.

As this great Victory cannot but be attended with very glorious Consequences, I make no Doubt, but by our Address, we shall be able to make these Fellows follow us into *Provence*, and, I wish, Heaven grant it may come to pass! That we may train them along to the very Gates of *Paris*, that your Majesty may have the sole Glory of putting an End to them.

For a more copious and exact Account, I must refer you to my dear Cousin, the Marquis *de Vogue*, who brings you this, and some such like Letters.

I have the Honour to be very affectionately, and without Reserve, of your sublime Majesty,

*The most faithful,
The most zealous,
And absolutely devoted,
Servant and Subject*
ALEXANDER DE PIZENAS,
Col. of the Royal Reg. of the Garonne.

In Post haste

to Tortona.

Aug. 15, 1746.

ON LIBERTY.

HAIL Liberty! thou sacred pow'r,
Which ever with fair Virtue shines;
Not all the gold can purchase thee,
That blazes in bright western mines.
Not the gay guards in glitt'ring arms,
Who crowd in pomp the monarch's gate,
Can to his soul wish'd freedom give,
If crimes and fears attend his state.
'Tis Virtue, godlike and divine,
That makes the gen'rous hero brave;
Who's base will always meanly think,
For vice was ever born a slave.
The ravager of half the globe
Will sigh at last for thee in vain,
Who, tho' thou scorn'st the tyrant's pride,
Spontaneous waits in Virtue's train.
How is the humble cottage blest'd
With thy propitious, chearing smile!
While jealousies and racking cares
Torment the knave, with all his guile.
But in the sacred, laurel shade,
While rapt'rous thoughts my bosom move,
Thou deign'st to fire my glowing soul,
With thine, and heav'nly Virtue's love.
Thus I: but then supremely blest'd,
That great, all-pitying, godlike mind,
Whose labours, utmost wishes, plan
The happiness of all mankind.
Oh! might I live to praise thy deeds,
And rise by thee to deathless fame;
Thy glories wou'd my breast inspire,
And set my raptur'd thought on flame.
Who art thou, who?—the solar orb
In his meridian, fullest blaze,
Darts not around him stronger light,
Or brighter, royal beams displays.
To conquer is the hero's crown,
But 'tis the part of heav'n to save;
Those laurels that with mercy shine,
Alone survive the gloomy grave.

J. DINSDALE.

*The JE NE SCAI QUOI. A SONG, set
by Dr. GREEN.*

YES, I'm in love, I feel it now,
And *Celia* has undone me;
And yet I swear, I can't tell how,
The pleasing plague stole on me.
'Tis not her face that love creates,
For there no graces revel;
'Tis not her shape, for sure in that
The fates have been uncivil.
'Tis not her air, for sure in that
There's nothing more than common;
'Tis not her sense, for that's but chat,
Like any other woman.
Her voice, her touch, might give th' alarm,
'Tis both, perhaps, or neither;
In short, 'tis that provoking charm
Of *Celia* all-together!

THE POWER of BACCHUS.

MAY the bullion's dazzling splendor
Ever be the miser's joy;
May the courtier's dreams of grandeur
Equally his mind employ.
We such trifling joys despising,
Gladsome view the flowing bowl;
For the charms from thence arising
Truly elevate the soul.
Jelly god of wine, thy presence
Drives corroding cares away;
Ev'n cowards brave are by thy influence,
The weak are strong, the stupid gay.
Thy all-pow'rful purple *Cbian*
Gives the captive liberty,
Makes the sighing, whining, dying
Lover slight *Melinda's* eye.
Ambitious kings may toil for empire,
Millions for their pride destroy;
Can all their trophies yield them higher
Pleasure than we now enjoy?

A DERORTATION from DRINKING.

By a late eminent PHYSICIAN.

PASS by a tavern door, my son,
This sacred truth write on thy hearts
'Tis easier company to shun,
Than at a pint it is to part.
For one pint draws another in,
And that pint lights a pipe;
And thus, in th' morn, they tap the day,
And drink it out e'er night:
Not dreaming of a sudden bounce,
From winous sulphurs stor'd within;
Which blows a drunkard up at once,
When the fire takes life's magazine.
An apoplexy kills as sure,
As cannon ball; and oft as soon;
And will no more yield to a cure,
Than mur'dring chain-shot from a gun.
Why should men dread a cannon bore?
Yet boldly 'proach a pottle pot;
That may fall short, shoot wide or o'er,
But drinking is the surer shot.
How many fools about this town,
Do quaff and laugh away their time?
And, knightly, knock each other down,
With claret clubs of no-grape wine!
Until a dart from *Bacchus* quiver,
As *Solomon* describeth right,
Does shoot his *Tartar* thro' the liver,
Then (*bonos nocios*) set, good night.
Good wine will kill, as well as bad,
When drunk beyond (our nature's) bounds;
Then wine gives life a mortal stab,
And leaves her weltering in her wounds.
Such were the rules old *Baynard* gave,
To one with whom he could be free;
Better you'll from no doctor have,
Besides — they come without a fee.

To

To Miss P——Y M——N, on seeing her knotting.

SEE how each finger acts its part,
With so much grace, and so much art,
That unassisted by her eyes,
She does all our hearts surprize:

Oh! Cynthia, would you but agree,
To knit one only knot with me,
I would not wish, to change my fate,
Nor envy George's throne,
My bliss, alas! would be compleat
In your dear self alone.

FLAVIO.

EPIGRAM.

REBELS avaunt! 'tis George that reigns,
And wears the British crown.
Thus Michael the arch-angel caus'd
Satan his power to own.

On a covetous CLERGYMAN.

Cedit auro toga.

WHEN Matthew heard our Saviour's voice,
Which bad him leave his wealth;
Obedient to the call, he rose,
And preach'd Christ's saving health.
But you, tho' call'd to preach God's word,
So highly prize your self,
You think that nought is worth regard,
But int'rest, world, and self.
Thus souls of sinners, we are told,
Still earthly pleasures love,
And hov'ring round the lifeless coarce,
Ne'er seek the joys above.

To a beautiful YOUNG LADY,

On her conveying a VIPER into a CLERGY-
MAN'S POCKET.

POSSESS of such resistless charms,
Why shou'd you covet other arms?
Why any foreign aid explore,
You who cou'd wound too fast before?
With Cupid's whole artillery clad,
'Tis barbarous poison'd darts to add.
In other foes 'tis deem'd unfair,
With venom'd arms to wage a war;
Achilles, that victorious lord,
In poison never dipt his sword.
Tyrants of high, despotick views,
Will arbitrary weapons use.
Sure you are some tyrannick maid,
To call in vipers to your aid:
And make us run this farther risk,
You who have eyes of basilisk.

But still, as antient records tell,
Where Eden blossoms, serpents dwell:

And hence this Moral we may make,
Each Paradise affords a snake.

'Twas well, a grave, and reverend seer,
You thus inspir'd with mortal fear;
For men of sanctity, they say,
With spells can conjure harm away.
But ah! no spells can exorcise
The fatal magick of your eyes;
Such beauty at each glance can kill,
And baffle Mead's and Galen's skill:
No poison has so sure a dart,
This wounds the nerves, but that the heart.

Sacred to the MEMORY of the celebrated
Mr. PURCELL.

I.

MARK how the lark and linnet sing:
With rival notes
They strain their warbling throats,
To welcome in the spring.
But in the close of night,
When philomel begins her heav'nly lay,
They cease their mutual spite,
Drink in her musick with delight,
And listning, silently obey.

II.

So ceas'd the rival crew, when Purcell came:
They sung no more, or only sung his fame:
Struck dumb, they all admir'd the godlike
man:

The godlike man,
Alas! too soon retir'd,
As he too late began.

We beg not hell our Orpheus to restore:
Had he been there,
Their sovereign's fear,
Had sent him back before.

The power of harmony too well they know:
He long e'er this had tun'd their jarring
sphere,

And left no hell below.

III.

The heav'nly choir who heard his notes
from high,
Let down the scale of musick from the sky:
They handed him along,
And all the way he taught, and all the way
they sung.

Ye brethren of the lyre and tuneful voice,
Lament his lot, but at your own rejoice:
Now live secure, and linger out your days:
The gods are pleas'd alone with Purcell's
lays,

Nor know to mend their choice.

An ODE of ANACREON.

Attempted in ENGLISH.

FRIENDS of play, and mirth, and wine,
Roses round your temples twine;
Gay carousing, laughing-gay,
Friends of wine, and mirth, and play.

What!

Whilst the silver-footed fair
Waves her *Thyrsus*' ivy hair;
Nimbly whilst she beats the ground,
To the lyre's enliv'ning sound:
Whilst the boy, whose charming face
Loosely-flowing tresses grace,
Softly moves, and sweetly sings,
To the lute's melodious strings:
Whilst the beauteous Son of *Jove* *,
Whilst the beauteous Queen of love,
With the gold hair'd *Cyprian* boy,
Seek the god of feast and Joy:
Camus seek! to crown the whole;
Raise the laughter, speed the bowl;
Sorrow banish, pain assuage;
Camus! that gives youth to age.

ON DELIA †.

WHEN first bright *Venus* saw *Adonis*'
charms,
She long'd to revel in his youthful arms;
But all her beauty could not move the swain,
And her black eyes with tears were stain'd
in vain;
What shall I do! the *Cyprian* goddess cry'd;
What shall I do! th' *Idalian* groves reply'd;
Sudden as thought, fair *Delia*'s form she took,
Then on the youth she cast a smiling look;
Now, silly swain, despise me if you can,
But that I'm sure's impossible to man.
Adonis said, now, by the gods, I love,
For *Delia* charms, when *Venus* fails to move.

C. S.

EPIGRAM.

FROM penal fires their sinful sons to save,
Nela the bow, the arrow *Gallia* gave:
But who will add the string, ye Jesuits tell,
Your rev'rend fathers have deserv'd so well?

Poole.

H. PRICE.

Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, a famous
and learned Physician, had travelled in his
Youth, and having observed, that the Pro-
testants abroad had a Custom of singing
Psalms or spiritual Songs a little before Bed-
Time, he approved of it, and made use of it
as long as he lived; and composed for this
Purpose the following Poem.

AN EVENING HYMN, by Sir THOMAS BROWN.

THE night is come, like to the day;
Depart not thou, great God, away,
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light,
Keep still in my horizon; for to me
The sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou, whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infect,
But such as *Jacob*'s temples blest.

September, 1746

While I do rest, my soul advance;
Make my sleep a holy trance:
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought;
And with as active vigour run
My course, as doth the nimble fun.

Sleep is a death, O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die:
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
Howe'er I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at last with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lie
Securely, or to wake or die.
These are my drowsy days; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again:
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever.

On Lord BALMERINO's being called a Great Unhappy Man ‡.

THUS fell that great unhappy peer;
This F— asserts, and seems sincere:
But as the phrase may want explaining,
I'll do my best to give the meaning.

If impudence may pass for greatness,
And stupid carriage for sedateness;
That he was great, no soul denies,
Nor when F— says it, says he lies.
The man must be unhappy too,
That stands unmov'd with death in view;
That braves the sentence of the laws,
And glories in so bad a cause.

But let who will remark his end,
(Except the S—s and their friend)
They'll find he met the hand of fate
Without one act that spoke him great;
Laugh'd at the crowd, talk'd to *Jack Ketch*,
And dy'd a most abandon'd wretch.

In short, he was, at best, a T—y,
Or F— had told another story.

AN INVITATION to VENUS.

COME, *Venus*, come to make us blest,
Mine, and my *Cloe*'s welcome guest.
What, tho' thy *Cyprus* should repine,
While on our happy isle you shine?
Our happy isle shall grateful prove,
And rising incense thank your love.
Worship and incense here receive,
And what has *Cyprus* more to give?
With thee bid haste the am'rous boy,
And with him each attendant joy:
Youth, and her thousand charms that lie
In dimpled cheek, and laughing eye:
Wit, which the power of beauty moves,
And beauty, which true wit approves;
Bid each by turns our bosoms warm,
Without thee, impotent to charm.
We'll make (if with this train you come)
Of *Cloe*'s house, the *Graces* home.

R r r

THE

* Bacchus. † Miss M—n, of Bloomsbury Square. ‡ We insert this only to
show how far Matters were carried in the squabbling Disputes concerning this Lord.

Monthly Chronologer.

From the London Gazette, Aug. 30.



COMMODORE Barnett, in his Letter of Feb. 2. off Pondicherry, writes, that his Appearance put a Stop to a Scheme, which it is thought the Enemy (the French) had form'd to attack Fort St. David's. They march'd out of Pondicherry with about 1000 Men, of which 400 were European regular Foot, and 40 Horse, the rest Blacks, of different Casts, and with some Cannon embark'd within a Mile of Fort St. David's; upon which the Governor desir'd him to come to his Assistance. But as it is reported that the Enemy expect four Ships, he judges this March a Feint to draw him from off the Road, and therefore only sent the *Dolphin* with the Signals, which he desir'd the Governor to make, if he continu'd under any Apprehensions; and to amuse the Enemy in his Turn, he stood close in, anchor'd to the Northward of the Town, and sent all the Boats a sounding, in the Manner he should have done, had he been in Circumstances to make a Descent, which had the design'd Effect. The Army disembark'd on a sudden, and made forced Marches to get into Town again; so that all Apprehensions of an Attack are over at Fort St. David's for the present.

When the Rebel Prisoners from Scotland were indicted at Carlisle, before Lord Chief Baron Parker, Baron Clarke, and Judges Burnett and Dennison, there were many of the Evidences who refus'd to swear in the Form prescrib'd by the Laws of England; whereupon, 'twas said, the Judges had long Reasoning among themselves; and in the End they were allowed to take the Oath after the Scots Form.

TUESDAY, 2.

Mr. Justice Foster being seated on the Bench, at St. Margaret's Hill, Mr. Attorney-General mov'd, That the Prisoners, against whom Bills of Indictment were found, (see p. 424.) might be brought to the Bar to be arraign'd thereon, and then the Keeper of the County Goal brought up to the Bar, Sir John Wedderburn, James Braidshaw, Allan Cameron, Francis Farquharson, Nicholas Glasgow, Alexander Kenloch, Charles Kenloch, Henry Kerr, James Lindsay, Roderick Mackenzie, Hector Mackenzie, Colin Mackenzie, Alexander Mac Loughlan, James Ratiragh, James Stewart,

John Farquharson, Andrew Hood, and Tbs. Watson; who all pleaded Not Guilty. And then the Court adjourn'd to Oct. 13. Sir James Kenloch and Roderick Mac Calloch were so ill that they could not come to be arraign'd; but Sir James, by his Solicitor, inform'd the Court, that he would be prepar'd to take his Trial at that Time.

From the London Gazette, Sept. 2.

Edinburgh, Aug. 23. The Earl of Argyll is come hither, having march'd with the Troops under his Command from Fort Augustus, upon Wednesday the 13th Instant, and settled them in their Quarters at Perth and Sterling.

FRIDAY, 5.

The Sessions ended at the Old Baily, when the following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. Barney Linsey, a Boy of about 16, for a Highway Robbery near Pancras; Felix Matthews and Anthony Matthews, both Haymakers, for rebelling Mr. Lewis, a Farmer, near Hendon; and John Pagan, otherwise Pidgeon, for privately stealing a Watch; who seem'd very much concern'd, and begg'd the Favour of the Court for Transportation for Life, tho' a reputed Pickpocket for about 20 Years.

About a Week before, John Skinner was executed at Chelmsford in Essex, for the Murder of Daniel Brett his Servant, (or rather Partner in Smuggling) in May, 1744. The Occasion of his committing it, was Brett's taking away some Goods they had smuggled together, without his Knowledge. This Skinner served his Time with an eminent wholesale Oilman in Holbourn; and was afterwards set up by his Parents in a well furnished Shop without Aldgate. He soon after married a young Lady of a good Family and Fortune in Essex. But taking to Gaming, and Whoring, so that he would be at a Bawdy-house for ten Days together, and other Extravagancies, he neglected his Wife, and left his Business wholly to Servants; which soon ended in a Statute of Bankruptcy: After which he kept an Inn at Rumford, much frequented by Smugglers; and understanding what Profits were to be made that Way, he soon commenc'd one of that pernicious Gang; and abandoning his Wife to Misery and Poverty, kept Company with lewd Women, and follow'd other Kinds of Vices; which at last brought him to that for which he deservedly suffer'd. As soon as he knew that Brett had secreted some

of the Goods, he resolved to shoot him; which he accordingly did. The Morning of his Execution there was a Knife discover'd, with which he had stabb'd himself five Inches deep in the Pit of the Stomach. He was led to Church between two Men. He was very unwilling to be hang'd, saying, that he was in Hopes the Wound he had gave himself would have prevented it, as the Knife had lain half an Hour in his Breast before it was discover'd. A dreadful Warning to all loose, inconsiderate, and extravagant young Men!

Extract of a Letter from Edinburgh, Sept. 6.

This Day the *Juveness* Post brings Advice, that Capt. Munro, of Culkairn, Brother to the late Sir Robert Munro, returning from *Lockhart* to *Fort Augustus*, was shot dead at the Head of his Men, as he was passing a Wood near that Place, by some of the *Camerons*. He was very diligent in hunting the Rebels from their Holes, which was the Cause of their Hatred against him: But for this villainous Action the *Camerons* may chance to pay dear.

All the private Letters from Scotland agree, that Things are in a Manner quiet in the Highlands, most of the Chiefs being fled abroad that were too guilty to submit, and Numbers of all Sorts repairing daily to some or other of his Majesty's Garisons to deliver up their Arms, and submit themselves to the Royal Mercy; so that the Tranquillity of that Country is like to be very soon restored.

TUESDAY, 9.

A further Respite for six Weeks came from the Duke of Newcastle's Office, to the *New Goal* in *Southwark*, for *John Sanderson*, *William Battagb*, *Charles Deacon*, *James Wilding*, *Christopher Taylor*, *Thomas Furnival*, *Alexander Abernethy*, *James Godd*, and *Alexander McGruther*, sen. who were to have suffered the next Day at *Kennington-Common*, for High Treason. (See p. 423.) *Alexander McGruther* the younger, Lieut. in Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Regiment, died the same Day in the *New Goal*, and *Alexander Abernethy* soon after.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

This Morning two Battalions of the First and Second Regiments of Foot Guards, consisting of 2000 Men. Officers included, embark'd on board several Lighters, &c. which fell down with the Tide for *Gravesend*, where Transports were ready to receive them, and sail directly for *Plymouth*, to join the Forces under the Command of General *Sinclair*, which will then be a Body of 10,000, all chosen Troops. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was at the *Tower Wharf* to see them embark. They went off with the greatest Chearfulness,

hoping, as they said, to return with Conquest, and convince the World they were not unworthy of the continual Favours conferr'd on them by their brave Commander.

PROCEEDINGS against the REBELS at Carlisle.

Sept. 9. Sixty-two *Lancashire* Rebels were arraign'd, 59 of whom pleaded Not Guilty; one *Roger Fulthorp* pleaded Guilty, and two others being sick, could not come to the Bar.

Sept. 10. Forty-five Rebels were called to the Bar, of whom 42 pleaded Not Guilty; and 3 pleaded Guilty, viz. *Peter Lindsay* from *Edinburgh*, *James Innes* from ditto, and *Robert Taylor*: The latter is the Captain who made his Boast, that he would take *Edinburgh Castle* in three Days. He said it was Poverty that forced him among the Rebels.

On the 12th *Samuel Lee* and *John Robotham* retracted their former Plea, and pleaded Guilty. This Day *Lawrence Mercer*, *George Seaton*, Gent. *Ronald McDonald* of the City Guard of *Edinburgh*, *Barnabas Matthew*, *Robert Murray*, Gent. *John Wallace*, and *Donald McKenzie*, all pleaded Guilty. *Thomas Lawson*, *Thomas Hays*, and *Molineaux Eaton* were the same Day found Guilty.

When *Charles Douglas* was called to the Bar for Arraignment, he pleaded his Privilege of Peerage, by the Title of Lord *Mordington*; and his Plea was recorded.

Sept. 13. We have had two famous Trials here, which have ingrossed all our Attention, viz. that of *John Henderson*, a Rebel Captain, and *Thomas Kappoch*, the Pretender's Bishop of *Carlisle*. These two, it seems, piqued themselves much in baffling all who should appear against them. The first of them had a Trial, which lasted six Hours, and the latter a Trial of about five Hours: After their long Trials, and great Boastings, they were both found Guilty of High-Treason. *Kappoch*, the Rebel Bishop, is about 27 Years of Age, and appear'd at the Bar in his Gown and Cassock. It was fully prov'd by many Witnesses, that he join'd with the Rebels at *Manchester*, and continued with them in the March to *Derby*, back to *Manchester* and to *Carlisle*, till the Rebels surrender'd to the Duke: At *Manchester*, and at *Carlisle* he pray'd for King *James*, *Charles Prince of Wales*, Regent of *England*, and the Duke of *York*. This Act of Treason he committed several Times, and at *Manchester* preach'd for his pretended Prince on this Text, *Psal. v. 1. The Lord is King, the Earth may be glad thereof*. At *Carlisle* he wore a Hanger, a Plaid Sash, and a white Cockade, which was the distinguishing Mark of all in the *Manchester Regiment*.

giment. It was prov'd, that he acted as a Quarter Master in the Rebel Army, and billeted the Rebel Soldiers: He told a Man at *Manchester*, that he had taken two Men Prisoners himself; that Prince *Charles* offer'd to give the Duke of *Cumberland* Battle, but the Duke ran away; and the Reason why the Pretender's Army return'd from *Derby*, was that Lord *John Drummond* was landed in *Scotland* with many Thousand *French*, and being join'd with 4000 *Highlanders*, were marching Southwards, and that they were going to meet them. This same mock Bishop, when in *Lancaster* Goal, wrote a Letter, directed to one of his Name (who was his Cousin) at *Manchester*, which was prov'd by *Mary Humpbreys*, one of his Witnesses, who endeavour'd to prove what he had said in his Defence, that he was forced into the Pretender's Service: And in this Letter he had the Folly and Wickedness to write, that the Duke of *Cumberland* order'd him to be harshly us'd, and to be kept upon half a Pound of Bread a Day, and to have nothing to drink but nasty Water, because he protested against the Surrender of *Carlisle* to the Duke, and would have fought the Duke's Troops at *Stanwin* (which joins to *Carlisle*.) He called his own Father as a Witness, but his Evidence proved useless to him: He then call'd to one of the Rebels, to prove that he attempted to make his Escape from the Rebel Army, but this Evidence prov'd likewise of no Service to him. Mr. *Baron Clarke* tried him, and the Jury found him Guilty in two Minutes after the Affair was submitted to them.

Sept. 15. *Robert Maxwell*, *Andrew Porteous*, *James Smith*, *Robert Forbes*, *Thomas Park*, and *John Campbell*; retracted their former Plea, and pleaded Guilty. *John Kappoch*, younger Brother to the pretended Bishop of *Carlisle*, found Guilty; but recommended by the Jury to Mercy on Account of his Youth. *John McNaughton*, (who killed the brave Col. *Gardner*) and *Donald McDonald* of *Tundriss*, Rebel Major, both found Guilty. *Thomas Williamson* acquitted on Account of his Youth, and his Bolts knocked off in Court.

Sept. 16. *Rich. Brown*, *Will. Hargrave*, *Edw. Roper*, *Rob. Tinsley*, *Geo. Wearing*, *Matt. Wearing*, *Sim. Lugton*, and *Rich. Marison*, the Pretender's Valet, all found Guilty. *Tho. Keigbly*, *Philip Hunt*, *Sir Archibald Primrose* of *Dunnipace*, *Bart.* and *Robert Randal*, retracted their former Plea, and pleaded Guilty. *Thomas Turner* found Guilty; but recommended to Mercy on Account of his Youth. *Thomas Barton* was acquitted, and his Bolts knock'd off in Court.

Sept. 17. *Stephen Fitzgerald*, *John Ratcliff*, *John Macneil*, and *Robert Wright*, were all found Guilty. *John Saunderson*,

and *Andrew Swan*, retracted their former Plea, and pleaded Guilty. *James Murray*, Surgeon of *Edinburgh*, was acquitted, on Account of his Lenity, and Diligence in attending the King's Troops after the Battle of *Preston-Pans*.

Thomas and *William Turner*, were found Guilty. *John Hartley* retracted and pleaded Guilty. *Thomas Warrington* and *Nail McLaren*, were acquitted.

MONDAY, 15.

The Regiment of Horse raised last Year by the Duke of *Kingston*, which did so much Service in the Battle of *Culloden*, was disbanded at *Nottingham*; the common Men having 3 Guineas given to each, with their Bridles and Saddles; and every Officer and Soldier had a printed Copy of the Secretary of War's Letter to his Grace, deliver'd to him, which was conceived much in the same Terms with that to the Earl of *Berkeley*, p. 339. Only this Paragraph has something peculiar: "I am likewise commanded by his Majesty to desire your Grace, and the rest of your Officers, to thank the private Men in his Name, for their Services, before they are dismissed, in order that there may be no one Person in your Regiment unacquainted with the Sense his Majesty has of their Loyalty, Activity, and gallant Behaviour in his Service: Qualities which have been so conspicuous in your Grace's Regiment, that his Majesty, willing to retain as many as possible of such Soldiers in his Service, has been pleased to order a Regiment of Dragoons to be raised at the same Time and Place, when and where your Grace's Regiment shall be disbanded, and to direct that as many of the Officers and private Men belonging to your Grace's Regiment, as shall be willing, may serve in the said Regiment of Dragoons, of which, as a signal Mark of Honour and Distinction, his Royal Highness the Duke will himself be Colonel."

It is very remarkable, that when the Duke of *Kingston*'s Horse were disbanded, all the Men, excepting 8, enter'd immediately into the Duke's new Regiment of Dragoons; and that those Gentlemen who did not enter, gave Reasons very satisfactory and honourable for not doing as the others had done. And,

It is further to be mentioned, that there were three Butchers of *Nottingham*, that had entered into the Duke of *Kingston*'s Regiment, who killed 14 Rebels each, at the late Battle of *Culloden*.

On this and the following Day, a Court Martial was held to enquire into the Conduct of Colonel *Durand*, in surrendering the City of *Carlisle* to the Rebels; when it appearing by the Evidence that he defended that Place as long and with as much Reso-

lution

lution as could be expected with so small a Garrison, he was honourably acquitted.

At the Court Martial on board the *Duke of Portsmouth*, 3 Persons were condemn'd for attempting to desert by swimming away. *Thomas Carrol*, Mariner, was tried for Mutiny: When it appear'd, that a Woman came along-side the Ship, and enquired for the Prisoner as her Husband; on which she came on board, and some of the Officers wanting to have to do with her, shut her in the Cabin, but the Woman got out at that Gallery; upon which, by an Officer's Order, she was tied to the Netting Rope, and the Prisoner demanded her from thence in an insolent Manner, and threatened to run away. The Court thinking it a trifling Complaint, dismiss'd the Prisoner, but the President caution'd him against being saucy and impudent to his Officers.

THURSDAY, 18.

A General Court of the Bank of England was held at their House in *Treadneedle-street*, when a Dividend of 2 3 4ths was declar'd on their Capital, for the half Year ending at *Michaelmas*.

About Five in the Morning, the Heads of *Thomas Siddal* and *Thomas Deacon* were fix'd upon the *Exchange* at *Manchester*.

THURSDAY, 25.

The Parliament, which stood prorogu'd to the 30th Instant, was order'd to be farther prorogu'd to *Nov. 18*.

SUNDAY, 28.

Thomas Winterbottom, Esq; and *Robert Allop*, Esq; Aldermen, were sworn into the Office of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middlesex* for the Year ensuing, at *Guild-Hall*, and the next Day at *Westminster*.

MONDAY, 29.

William Benn, Esq; Alderman of *Aldersgate Ward*, elected Lord Mayor of *London* for the Year ensuing.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

SIR *William Irby*, Bart. to Miss *Selwyn*, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess of *Wales*.—*Peter Lebeup*, jun. Esq; to Miss *Sally Lebook*.—*Luke Spence*, of *South-Malling* in *Sussex*, Esq; to Miss *Frederick*.—*Hon. Edward Finch*, Esq; to Miss *Palmer*.—*Stephen Lee*, Esq; to Miss *Charlotte Webb*.—*Mr. Garneau*, a Jeweller in *Treadneedle-street*, to Miss *Arnold*, Daughter of *Mr. Deputy Arnold*.—*Mr. William Tireman*, Organist of *Trinity College* and *Great St. Mary's* in *Cambridge*, to Miss *Browne*, of *Doncaster*.—*Sir Everard George Hickman*, Bart. to Miss *Towers*.—*Ambrose Isted*, of *Eaton* in *Northamptonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Bucke*.—*George Lewis*, Esq; Fellow of *Jesus College*, *Cambridge*, to Miss *Witcombe*.—*Edward Godfrey*, Esq; to Miss *Miles*.—*Mr. Nicholson Calvert*, to Miss *Goodwin*, of

Clapham.—Countess of *Dalkeith*, safely deliver'd of a Son.—The Lady of his Excellency *Mr. Trevor*, Envoy at the *Hague*, deliver'd there of a Son.—The Lady of the Rt. Hon. *Francis Earl Brooke*, of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

REV. *Mr. Colleare*, Curate of *Richmond*, and Vicar of *Thistleworth*.—*Mr. Samuel Lebook*, an eminent and wealthy *Blackwell-Hall* Factor.—*Rev. Mr. Thomas Ford*, Prebendary of *Wells*, and Vicar of *Banwell* and *Woke*, in *Somersetshire*.—*Francis Bolton*, Esq; many Years an Officer in the Land Service, and since an Agent to several Regiments.—*Heigham Bendish*, Esq; a Gentleman of a good Estate at *East-Ham* in *Essex*.—*William Cutbbert*, Esq; Recorder of *Newcastle*.—*Richard Burton*, Esq; one of the Directors of the *East-India Company*.—*John Nichols Rainsford*, Esq; last Year High Sheriff of *Northamptonshire*.—*Rev. Mr. Duncomb*, Rector of *Chere* near *Guildford*.—*Rev. Mr. Addington Davenport*, Minister of the Episcopal Congregation in *Boston*, *New England*.—*Stephen Bisse*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualing Office.—*Rev. Dr. Manlove*, Rector of *Caister St. Edmunds* in *Norfolk*, and Minister of *St. Peter's* and *St. Stephen's* in *Norwich*.—*Dr. Luke Trevigar*, an eminent Physician, aged near 81.—*Mary Countess Dowager of Cassils*.—*Edward Crispe*, Esq; at *St. Edmunds-Bury*, on whose Life, that most horrid Attempt was made in 1721, by *Mr. Coke*, his Brother-in-Law, for which *Coke* and one *Woodbourne*, his Accomplice, were executed on *Stat. 22 and 23 of Charles II.* made to prevent malicious Maiming and Wounding, commonly call'd the *Coventry Act*.—*Hon. John Roberts*, Esq; Nephew to the Earl of *Radnor*.—*Dr. Lawrence Martel*, Fellow of the College of Physicians.—*Rev. Dr. Williams*, a Prebendary of *Peterborough*.—*Henry Barham*, Esq; possess'd of a very large Estate in *Jamaica*.—*Mr. John Staggy*, near 30 Years an eminent Bookseller in *Westminster-Hall*.—*Giles Eyre*, Esq; Counsellor at Law.—*Rev. Mr. Commissary Vessey*, at *New York*, who had been Rector of *Trinity Church* there, from its being built in 1696 to his Death.—*Mr. James Cossin*, an eminent Attorney at Law.—*Capt. Bury*, late Commander of the *Solebay* Man of War.—*Rev. Dr. Mills*, aged near 100.—*Mr. Raymond Burrel*, second Son to *Peter Burrel*, Esq; Sub-Governor of the *S. S. Company*.—*Lieut. Gen. Columbine*.—*Nicholas Haddock*, Esq; Admiral of the Blue.

Ecclesiastical PRESENTMENTS.

MR. *Robert Hargreaves*, presented to the Rectory of *Langton* in *Yorkshire*.—*Skinner Spencer*, A. M. to the Rectory of *Woolley* in *Huntingtonshire*.—*Mr. James Tat-*
terfal,

terfal, to the Vicarage of *Charing*, and Mr. *Thomas Hare*, to the Chapel of *Egerton*, both in *Kent*, in the Room of Mr. *Carrington*, promoted to the Rectory of *Clayworth* in *Nottinghamshire*.—Mr. *William Lamplugh*, to a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of *Ripon*.—Dr. *Francis*, elected Minister of *St. Peter's* in *Norwich*.—Mr. *Freeman*, presented to the Rectory of *Caister St. Edmunds* in *Norfolk*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

JOHNSON *Cleveland*, Esq; made second Secretary of the Admiralty.—*James Brudenell*, Esq; eldest Son of the late Hon. *James Brudenell*, Esq; made one of the Pages to his Majesty.—*Robert Osborne*, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Navy.—*Thomas Hardy* and *Robert Hardy*, Esqrs. had a Grant of the Office of Surveyor of his Majesty's Works and Buildings.—Hon. *John Forbes*, Esq; eldest Son to the Lord *Forbes*, made Capt. of a Company in *Handasyd's* Reg. of Foot.—*John Lord Hobart*, created Earl of *Buckinghamshire*.—*William Lord Fitzwilliam*, Baron of *Milton*, created Viscount *Milton*, and Earl *Fitzwilliam*.—Miss *Moslyn*, made one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess of *Wales*.—Capt. *Cane*, made Deputy Governor of *Windsor Castle*.—Mr. *William Scarfe*, made chief Engineer of the Castle of *Carlisle*.—Sir *Andrew Agnew*, made a Col. of Marines, in the Room of Brig. Gen. *Jeffreys*, who was cashier'd for procuring false Musters, and making a false Return of the Strength of his Regiment.—His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* made Colonel; *Robert Lord Sutton*, Lieut. Colonel; *Evelin Chadwicke*, Esq; Major; *James Orway*, *Charles Hatt* and *Joseph Hall*, Esqrs. Captains; *William Kirke*, Esq; Lieutenant-Captain; *John Litchfield*, *Charles Mellish*, *Nicholas Kirke*, *Thomas Smith* and *George Brown*, Lieutenants; *William Hatt*, *Thomas Kirton* and *William Padgett*, Cornets, of a Regiment of Dragoons to be forthwith rais'd for his Majesty's Service.—*Timothy Carr*, Esq; made Lieut. Col. of his Majesty's own Reg. of Horse, commanded by Sir *Philip Honeywood*; *William Thompson*, Esq; Major; *James Wharton* and *John Turner*, Esqrs. Captains; *Charles Collier*, Gent. Lieut. and *John Arnold*, Gent. Cornet in the said Regiment.—*Mark Anthony Saurin*, Esq; made Lieut. Colonel to his Majesty's own Royal Reg. of Dragoons, commanded by *Henry Hawley*, Esq;—Capt. *Douglas* made Major, Capt. *Lieut. Browne*, Capt. of a Troop, and Lieut. *Lockart*, Capt. Lieut. in Sir *Robert Rich's* Dragoons.—*Francis Fane*, Esq; made a Lord of Trade and Plantations.—Lieut. *Hervy*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, made Capt. of the Porcupine Sloop.—*John Bradstreet*, Esq; made Lieut. Governor of *St. John's* in *Newfoundland*.—*John Russel*, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Victualling Office.—*Chiverton*

Hartopp, Esq; made Deputy Governor of *Plymouth*.—*Julius Caesar*, Esq; made Capt. of a Comp. in the First Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of a young Nobleman, who was put under an Arrest for not attending Duty when the Guards embark'd.—*William Goech*, Esq; Lieut. Governor of *Virginia*, made a Baronet.—*Thomas Ridge*, Esq; High Sheriff of *Suffex*, knighted.—*James Porter*, Esq; made his Majesty's Ambassador to the Grand Signior.—*Henry Greenville*, Esq; made Governor of *Barbadoes*, in the Room of Sir *Tbo. Robinson*, recalled.—Mr. *Thomas Jackson*, made junior Clerk of the Foreign Post-Office, in the Room of Mr. *Bell*, jun. made Deputy-Comptroller of the same Office.

New Members.

George Edgecumbe, Esq; Son of Lord *Edgecumbe*, for *Forvey*.—Lord *Bury*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*, for *Chichester*.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOSEPH *Holding*, late of *Ratcliffe Highway*, Merchant.—*Geo. Henry Allin*, of *Norwich*, Merchant.—*Ro. Wells Greenall*, of *Worcester*, Distiller.—*Thomas Burnett*, of *Leadenhall-street*, Ironmonger and Brasier.—*Henry Johnson*, now or late of *White Chappel*, Baker.—*Neale Devine*, late of *St. James's*, *Westminster*, Dealer.—*Tbo. Willoughby*, of *Bristol*, Merchant and Dealer.—*Tbo. Cope*, late of *St. James's*, *Westminster*, Peruke-Maker.—*Rt. Kelley*, of *Tornest*, Mercer.—*Philip Wieldon*, of *Quarnford*, in the Parish of *Alstonefield*, *Stafford*, Chapman.—*Ro. Futter*, of *Sbelton*, in *Norfolk*, Apothecary.—*Othniel Barker*, of *St. Paul's*, *Shadwell*, Rope-Maker.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Aug. 26. to Sept. 23.

Christned	Males	574	1102
	Females	528	
Buried	Males	1084	2223
	Females	1139	
Died under 2 Years old			919
Between	2	and 5	207
	5	10	86
	10	20	77
	20	30	150
	30	40	196
	40	50	201
	50	60	139
	60	70	117
	70	80	85
	80	90	40
90 and upwards			6

2223

Hay 34 to 38, a Load.

THE

THE Allied Army having passed the *Maes* at *Namur*, as mentioned in our last, they made no long Stay in that Situation, but marched down the Right of that River back to *Maesricht*, in the Neighbourhood of which Place they arrived upon the 28th, without being much disturbed in their March by the *French*, who, upon their Retreat, thought of nothing but the Siege of *Namur*, which Place they invested the 26th ult. on the left Side of the *Maes*, under the Direction of the Count de *Clermont*, but it was some Days after, before they could invest it on the Right of that River. In the Night, between the 1st and 2d Inst. the Trenches were opened, and on the 8th the Besieged hung out the white Flag, Hostages were exchanged, and a Capitulation agreed on, consisting of ten Articles, the Substance of which was as follows: That two Days shall be granted to the Garison, which demanded six, to retire into the Castle with the necessary Provisions and Ammunition, and that during that Time Hostilities should cease on both Sides: That the lower Town should be given up to the Troops of the Most Christian King, and that they should faithfully deliver up the Arsenals, Magazines, &c. to his Majesty's Commissaries: That all the Women in general should go with the Garison into the Castle, unless they should rather chuse to go out of the City without any Luggage or Baggage: That all those who have any Employments under the Queen of *Hungary*, or the States General, may retire with their Domesticks and Equipages, on Condition that they do not carry away with them any Writings or Papers belonging to the City. The Garison proposed, amongst other Things, that on Condition the Besiegers would form no Attack against the Castle on the Side of the City, they would not fire that Way from the Castle; to which Answer was made, That each Party should be free to act in that Respect as they shall think proper.

N. B. This City held out against King *William* 35 Days open Trenches, and the Citadel held out 22 Days longer, tho' both were besieged with the utmost Vigour and Bravery.

After the Surrender of the City, a great Part of the besieging Army was detached to join the grand Army under Marshal *Saxe*, and with the rest the Count de *Clermont*, began the Siege of the Citadel, before which the Trenches were opened in the Night between the 12th and 13th, and when the last Accounts came from thence, they had advanced their Works within 8 Rods of the Palisadoes of *Fort William*.

As Marshal *Saxe* with the grand Army covered the Siege of this important City,

when he heard that the Allied Army were marched towards *Maesricht*, he moved with his Army and encamped about *Tongres*, from whence it was supposed, he intended to have opposed their repassing the *Maes*; but he attempted no such Thing, so that the whole Army repassed that River at *Maesricht*, without Interruption, upon the 2d and 3d Inst. and encamped on the East Side of the River at *Heerderen*. On the 8th, they decamped from thence and marched towards the *French*, as was generally thought, with a Design to attack them; but upon the News of the Surrender of *Namur*, and that a great Part of the besieging Army was marched to join Marshal *Saxe*, that Design was laid aside, and both Armies continued not only in View, but within Cannon Shot of each other, so that Skirmishes daily happen, of which we had the following Account from *Maesricht*, dated the 13th Inst. Advices from the Allied Army bring, that on the 9th there happened a smart Skirmish on its Left Wing, wherein the *French*, tho' superior in Number, were repulsed. On the 10th the Piquets of the Left again engaged with those of the *French*, and made them retire. The same Day the Right Wing of the Allies and Marshal *Saxe's* Left Wing cannonaded each other all the Afternoon, the *French* making a continual Fire with fifty Pieces of Cannon; however, without doing us any Harm. On the 11th there was on the Left Wing another sharp and bloody Action between a Body of about 3000 *Dutch* Troops, commanded by Prince *Waldeck* in Person, and near 6000 *French*. Our Troops were so well posted, and covered by a rising Ground, that they could not be perceived by the Enemy, who only seeing a little Troop of Hussars, that appeared by Way of Decoy, detach'd 600 *Oulans* and some Gendarmes to take them; but the Infantry coming out of their Ambuscade, charged the *French* in the Rear, so that the *Oulans*, after having obstinately defended themselves for some Time, and at length perceiving that the Party was unequal, laid down their Arms, as if they surrendered themselves Prisoners of War; but the rest of the *French* Troops coming up, and the Fight commencing, the *Oulans* took up their Arms again, and fell afresh upon our People, who did not at all expect it, and killed and wounded fifty Men. They however paid dear for this Piece of Perfidy; for our Troops having furiously attacked them, made a terrible Slaughter, so that out of 600 there remained but six alive. The Soldiers took on this Occasion many Horses, a Coach and Six, with several Carriages, and 200 Prisoners. Besides a great Number of Dead, who were left upon

upon the Field of Battle, we found many wounded, which have been sent to the neighbouring Villages. Yesterday there was another smart Skirmish, but we don't yet know the Particulars.

Altho' both the *French* and *Spaniards* sung *Te Deum* for what they called a Victory in *Italy*, as mentioned in our last, yet after that Victory their Army thought of nothing but retreating, first to the City of *Genoa*, and from thence to *Nice* upon the Confines of *Provence*, leaving their Allies, the *Genoese*, as usual, to the Mercy of those whom, at their Instigation, they had made their Enemies. Upon their Retreat the *Austrian* and *Piedmontese* Armies advanced, or rather, upon the Advance of the latter the former retreated; and as it was not necessary for the *Austrian* and *Piedmontese* Armies to keep any longer together, they separated, the latter taking its Route to the Right, by the Valley of *Bornida*, in order to intercept the *French* and *Spaniards*; should they make any Stay at *Genoa*, whilst the former marched directly towards *Genoa* by the Pass of *Bochetta*, reducing every Place in their Way except *Tortona* and *Gavi*, which they blockaded. At the *Bochetta* the Enemy made some Stand, but on the first Instant, *N. S.* they were attacked and defeated by the *Austrians* under General *Brown*, who, after defeating another Body of them in his Way, marched directly to *Ponte Decimo*, where he arrived that same Evening. As the *Genoese* were by this Time quite abandoned by their Friends the *French* and *Spaniards*, and the Enemy, in a Manner, at their Gates, they thought it high Time to submit and surrender their City, upon the best Terms they could get, into the Hands of the *Austrians*; and accordingly a provisional Capitulation was signed the 6th *N. S.* the Terms of which were in Substance as follow:

1. The City Gates shall, within 23 Hours, be put into the Hands of her Imperial Majesty the Queen of Hungary's Troops.

2. The Garison to be Prisoners of War: The Deserters who immediately declare themselves such, to be at the Empress's Mercy; the rest to be hanged.

3. All Arms, Ammunition, warlike Stores and Provisions, and Uniforms for Soldiers, to be delivered to her Imperial Majesty's Commissaries.

4. The Republick shall give Orders to her Subjects, Soldiers, and Militia not to commit any Hostilities against the Empress or her Allies in the present War.

5. The Port of *Genoa* shall be open to *English* ships of War and others, and to all those of her Imperial Majesty's Allies.

6. All the Baggage and Effects belonging to the *French*, *Spanish* or *Neapolitan* Armies or Soldiers shall be faithfully delivered up; as also all those Persons belonging to their Troops who shall be found in *Genoa* or the Suburbs.

7. Orders shall be immediately dispatched to the Commandant of *Gavi*, to surrender himself and Garison Prisoners of War.

8. During the War, the Republick shall grant to her Imperial Majesty's Troops a free Passage through *Genoa*, and all other her Fortresses.

9. The Doge and six principal Senators shall set out for *Vienna* in a Month, to beg Pardon of, and implore her Imperial Majesty's Mercy.

10. All Officers, Soldiers, and others, belonging to, or depending upon her Imperial Majesty or her Allies, who during the War have been made Prisoners by the Republick, shall be immediately released.

11. 50,000 *Genovines** shall be instantly paid down, to be distributed as a *Donneur* to the *Austrian* Troops, independently of all Contributions, for which an Agreement shall be made; and upon this Condition the Troops shall have Orders to observe an exact Discipline.

12. This Provisional Convention shall remain in Force till ratified, or altered by the Court of *Vienna*; and in the mean Time four Senators shall be sent to *Milan*, to remain there as Hostages till the Court of *Vienna* give them Leave to return Home. The present Convention shall be signed by the Doge and all the Senators in the Name of the Republick, and sealed with the Seal of their Arms.

In Consequence of this Capitulation, *Gavi* and all other Fortresses of the Republick upon the Continent have been put into the Hands of the *Austrians* and *Piedmontese*. Whilst the *Spanish* Army was retreating into the State of *Genoa*, viz. on the 14th ult. *N. S.* the Marquis de las Minas, arrived in the Camp, and took upon him the Command, whereupon the Count de Gages and the Marquis de Castellar set out for *Genoa*, on their Return to *Spain*. Besides the Articles before-mentioned relating to *Genoa*, we have from *Vienna* the three following. viz. The *Genoese* engage, 1. To pay the Imperial Army in *Italy* all the Arrears which are due to it. 2. Immediately to remit eight Millions to the Empress, and six Millions to the King of *Sardinia*. 3. To deliver up the Sums, which, by their Confession, have been found in *Genoa* belonging to the *French* and *Spaniards*, and which were designed for the Continuation of the War, which also amount to six Millions.

* A *Genovine* is about six Shillings English.